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PLACE NAMES OF LANCASHIRE

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THE PLACE NAMES OF LANCASHIRE

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THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

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TO

HENRY SWEET

The Scholar whose Genius has embraced nearly every Domain of Linguistic Studies, and has illumined whatever it has touched; whose labours have in especial clarified and enriched our knowledge of the History of our Native Tongue; whose Name is an Adornment to the Annals of English Learning

THIS VOLUME

IS DEDICATED IN ADMIRATION

AND RESPECT

PREFACE

THIS book has taken nearly four years to bring to its present form. During this period I have been prevented by the somewhat exacting duties of teaching a large body of students, as well as by the claims of other literary work, from working continuously at the various problems connected with a study of place names, excepting during vacations. But for these causes this work might have been ready for the press perhaps two years ago. On the other hand so large a subject as the Place Names of Lancashire might easily occupy the constant attention of a student for twenty years, so numerous, varied, and difficult are the problems which such an inquiry raises.

I have felt drawn in two opposite directions. On the one hand was the temptation to continue adding illustrative material from the enormous mass of early records which is the glory and pride of this country, until the whole body of documents had been practically exploited to their utmost value, to search still further for early forms of Lancashire names, and to work yet longer at the origin of many names which are here left unexplained. On the other hand was the feeling that, in a work of this kind, to strive after completeness and perfection beyond a certain point is to pursue an alluring mirage which recedes further away as one thinks one has reached it, and the thought that it is perhaps more serviceable to knowledge to publish what is, after all, a not inconsiderable body of material, frankly confessing that many problems are still unsolved, that many early forms of names in other parts of England, which might have thrown light upon the origin of those which are our immediate concern, are still ungarnered from the pages of the documents which contain them. This latter view has prevailed, and I have

preferred to publish what has been collected, as it is, rather than hold it back until most of those to whom it may be useful, or whom it may interest, 'have sunk into the grave,' and until the writer himself has lost all interest in the work.

As regards the character and aim of the investigation, little need be said here, and that chiefly of a negative character. It may be stated at once that place names are here considered as elements of language, and their development as a purely linguistic problem. Thus the work is not a topographical treatise, nor a guide-book, nor a gazetteer. It is not concerned with the question whether the names fit the places to which they are attached, nor whether they ever did so. With the linguistic evidence of the early forms before me, as a starting-point, the endeavour has been to determine the speech-elements of which each name is built up, and to describe the development of the compounds according to the known laws of sound change in the English language, or according to recognised principles of analogy. Here the task ends so far as this work is concerned. No attempt has been made to attack any problems of an historical, political, or racial character; no conclusions are drawn as to the wanderings or distribution of races, as to the identity of the holders of the personal names, which in a large number of cases are built into the structure of local nomenclature, or as to the size of the various manors and their dependencies. These questions, and many others allied to them, must be left to those scholars whose inclination, or, better still, whose training, leads them into these fields of research. It is possible that the facts here brought together may be of some service to these special students in other domains, should they honour this book with their attention.

A few words are perhaps necessary as to the selection of the names which are specially dealt with in Pt. I. These are limited almost entirely to such as were found in their early forms in the numerous documents which Dr. Hirst and I searched for Lancashire Place Names. It was not thought desirable to swell the book, by discussing in detail names of which no early forms were found, and whose origin must

therefore always be a matter of speculation. On the other hand, a large number of names not found in Pt. I. will be found in the lists in Pt. II. under the Old English words from which their elements appear to be derived.

A considerable number of early forms of a single name are often included. The object of giving such copious examples is partly to confirm remarkable forms from several different documents, partly to illustrate, as far as possible, the chronological development of the forms, partly to show the variety of mediæval spellings which express precisely the same thing, and lastly to give students as much material as possible for forming independent judgments upon the problems discussed.

Great care has been taken to ensure accuracy as to the actual forms given, the date of the document, and the references to the document from which they are taken. It is hoped that this has in the main been secured, but no one who has experience in dealing with a large number of forms and references will be surprised to find some errors.

I now turn to the share which those whose names appear on the title-page have severally taken in the work.

I wish most gratefully and cordially to bear testimony to the devotion of my collaborator, Dr. Hirst, to the laborious and tedious task of collecting and arranging material, as well as to other aspects of the work. During two years Dr. Hirst was Research Fellow in the University of Liverpool, and gave practically his whole time to Lancashire Place Names. During two more years Dr. Hirst most generously volunteered to continue to assist in the work, and gave his time and labour for a great part of nearly every term to the task.

The following are the main outlines of the work which Dr. Hirst performed :—

(1) He searched the following texts, and extracted early forms of Lancashire Place Names : Whall. Ch., Furn. Ch., De Lacy Comp., Priory of Penwortham, Chartulary of Lancaster, De Lacy Inq., Surveys of Wappentakes, of West Derby, etc., Ducatus Lancastriae, Placita de quo Warranto,

Abbreviatio Rotul. Originalium in Curia Scaccarii, Scarisbrick Ch., Close Rlls. (1227-34), Testa de Nevil, Lanc. and Chesh. Misc. vol. ii., Lay Subsidies (Mr. Farrer's transcript), Rent Rll. of Sir John Towneley, Cal. Ch. D. of L.

(2) Dr. Hirst made a copious index of Mod. Lancs. Names from the 1-inch Ordinance Survey Maps.

(3) Analysed a large number of the names into their component parts, thus compiling a large part of the list of elements.

(4) Collected cognate forms of the elements in other Germanic languages.

(5) Collected most of the definitions and accounts of distribution of the words forming the elements of Lancs. Pl. Ns., from the Dialect Dictionary.

(6) Found a large number of forms in O. E. Charters to illustrate the use of the elements in Pl. Ns., etc., during this period.

(7) Collected much illustrative material from D. B. and other mediæval documents.

(8) Collected Continental Names to illustrate use of elements. (Much of this material has not been used, as the identity of the elements was often uncertain.)

(9) Assisted greatly in compiling the Bibliography.

(10) Compiled nearly all the lists of Mod. Names containing the several elements, and arranged these under each element in Pt. II.

In addition to this important share of work, Dr. Hirst's geographical and topographical knowledge of Lancashire enabled him to identify many early forms of names with their Mod. equivalents. He has further contributed most of the local pronunciations placed in square brackets after the headings in Pt. I.

As regards my own share, I searched and abstracted all the sources of Lancs. Names enumerated in the first section of the Bibliography, which are not mentioned above under Dr. Hirst's name, and I went through several of the latter independently. I am further responsible for the plan of the whole work, the arrangement of material throughout, and for

the final selection of all the material. I also wrote the entire book as it now stands, including the Introduction, Phonology, and every article on each name and element in Pts. I. and II.

I identified all the Personal Names, English and Norse, which are recorded in the list on pp. 277-279 as forming the first elements of Lancs. Pl. Ns., and collected all the illustrative material and references concerning each in Pt. I. I made a preliminary analysis of the Pl. Ns. into their elements other than Pers. Ns., and compiled a list of these which, as has been said, was subsequently greatly added to by Dr. Hirst.

Although a large number of points were naturally discussed by me with Dr. Hirst, by far the greater number of views stated in the following pages were arrived at independently of him, while I was writing up the various articles during the vacations when no discussion could take place. I have, therefore, used the pronoun of the first person in the singular throughout the book, and must take entire responsibility for all the mistakes and errors of judgment which it contains.

There are very few acknowledgments to make of personal help from other scholars, apart from their works, which will be mentioned separately. First and foremost thanks are due to Mr. Farrer, Reader in Local History in the University of Liverpool, and Editor of the Victoria County History of Lancashire, for much valuable advice, and for supplying a skeleton list of sources before the work was begun, and also for the generous loan of an unpublished transcript of Lay Subsidies, made by him.

I have had the advantage of fairly frequent discussion of many problems with my friend and former colleague, the Rev. John Sephton, and I acknowledge the weight of his sagacious and informed judgment on points in which we differ, no less than on those where I had the happiness of finding that his views agreed with mine.

I must express our gratitude to Dr. Sampson, the Librarian of the University of Liverpool, for his courtesy in

affording us every facility in his power to use the volumes of Rolls, Charters, and other important publications which are in the University Library. Professor Moorman of Leeds has been so courteous as to place entirely at my disposal the proofs of his valuable monograph on the Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Unfortunately this work was practically finished before his was in type. I have acknowledged help from this source whenever I have been able to make use of it. Finally, I am greatly indebted to my friend Mr. Sydney Armitage-Smith who most generously supplied me with the complete text and index of his forthcoming edition of John of Gaunt's Register. From this work I have incorporated below several interesting fourteenth century forms of names.

As regards published works, to which I owe special acknowledgment, I must put first the splendid collections of documents edited by Mr. Farrer. The Lancashire Fines, Lancashire Inquests, and Lancashire Pipe Roll, to mention no more, are bound to be the backbone of any investigation into the history of Lancashire Place Names, and Mr. Farrer's identifications were of the greatest help in starting the work.

The notes on the Crawford Charters, edited by Professor Napier and Mr. Stevenson, have been of great service, and I have quoted them frequently, as well as referring to the Charters themselves. This volume contains the most learned and legitimately ingenious work on English Place Names that has yet been published.

Lastly, in the domain of English Place Names, my great indebtedness must be expressed to the four monographs of Professor Skeat, which have been drawn on largely for illustrative material and parallels. Dr. Zachrisson's original and stimulating book came into my hands too late for me to be able to make very much use of it. One may differ from Dr. Zachrisson as to the amount of influence exercised by Norman French on the actual forms of Place Names apart from the spelling, but few will underrate the acuteness and freshness of many of his observations.

Another book which would have been very useful, had it appeared a couple of years earlier, is Dr. Björkman's Old Norse Personal Names in England. As it was, nearly all the O. N. Pers. Ns. which have been recognised in Lancs. Pl. Ns. had already been discovered by the help of the works of Rygh, before this volume appeared, but it was possible to check the results with Dr. Björkman's, and to add from it some additional information regarding the occurrence of the names in England.

In the present volume, when the early forms shed no light upon the origin of a name, and when no reasonable explanation of it was forthcoming, it seemed better to leave it unexplained rather than hazard pure conjectures devoid of any support from documentary evidence. River names are left, as a rule, severely alone. In conclusion, it need only be said that an honest attempt has been made to face the difficulties, though it is manifest that many still remain to be cleared away. I hope the critics will devote their energies to supplementing the shortcomings of the book, and arriving at the truth where they think it has here been missed.

The object of this investigation is to help break the ground, and prepare the way for a fuller and better treatment of the subject. In looking through the book one cannot conceal from oneself that the results attained are out of all proportion insignificant compared with the amount of labour which has been expended.

HENRY CECIL WYLD.

Alvescot, Oxfordshire, 1910.

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ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTRACTIONS USED

[A fuller description of each work will be found in the Bibliography under the proper section. Contractions not included here are self-explanatory. The numbers refer to those in the first section of the Bibliography, which includes the sources of Lancs. Pl. Names.]

Abbrev. Rotl. See Orig. Rlls. below.
Cal. Ch. Rlls. Calendar of Charter Rolls. (26).
Cal. of Ch. of D. of L. (36).
Cal. Inq. P.M. Calendar of Inquests Post Mortem (30).
Cal. Inq. Hen. iii. Calendar of Inquests of Henry iii. (28).
Cal. Rotl. Pat. Calendar of Patent Rolls (31).
Cat. Anc. Dds. Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (27).
Chorley Docs. Deeds and Documents in Muniment Room at Chorley (21).
Ckrsnd. Ch. Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey (6).
Cl. Rlls. Close Rolls (18). Several vols of Cl. Rlls. are referred to besides that mentioned in Bibliography, but date and vol. are always quoted.
D. B. Doomsday Book. See Bibliography B.
De Lac. Comp. The De Lacy Compoti (9).
De Lacy Inq. Great De Lacy Inquisition (12).
Duc. Lanc. Ducatus Lancastriae Calendarium (14).
F. A. Feudal Aids, 1303-1431 (29).
Furn. Ch. Furness Coucher Book (8).
Ind. Ch. and Rlls. (32).
J. of Gaunt's Reg. (33).
L. A. R. Lancs. Assize Rolls (5).
L. C. R. Lancs. Court Rolls (4).
Leland's Itinerary (35).
L. F. Lancs. Fines (1).
L. Inq. Lancs. Inquests (3).
L. P. R. Lancs. Pipe Rolls (2).
Muir and Platt. Charters (34).
Lanc. Ch. Chartulary of the Priory of Lancaster (11).
Lanc. and Chesh. Misc. (22).
Orig. Rlls. Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium (16).
Plac. Q. Warr. (15).
Pr. Pen. Documents relating to Priory of Penwortham (10).
Prest. Guild Rlls. (24).
Rich. Wills. Wills proved in Archdeaconry of Richmond (20).
Scarisbr. Ch. Charters preserved at Scarisbrick Hall (17).
T. de N. Testa de Nevil (19).
Tnley. Rnt. Rll. Rent Rll. of Sir John Townley (25).
Wap. Sur. Survey of Wapentakes of W. Derby, etc. (13).
Whall. Ch. Whalley Coucher Book (7).

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY OF PLACE NAMES

NAMES of Places, like Names of Persons, are as much elements of language as any other words. Therefore the study of the origin and development of Place Names is primarily a linguistic study. As such it is clearly the business of the student of language. This study has at all times proved an alluring one for scholars of various training and bias. The topographer, the geographer, the historian, and above all the antiquary, have all tried their hands at the elucidation of the names of the persons and localities with which their various studies made them acquainted.

According to the bias of the special studies to which he is addicted, one will explain Place Names entirely from the natural features of the locality, another by an appeal to history, another by the light of local traditions, or the primitive remains of man's activities which survive in the neighbourhood. A common feature of what may be called amateur researches into the origin of Place Names, is that the authors usually conceive that their chief business is to explain *why* such and such a name was given to a particular place. This is, indeed, an interesting branch of investigation, but we must remember that the motives of men of far-off ages are difficult to fathom, and that it is often as futile to inquire *why* a place is named as it is, as to ask why the cases in the Aryan languages received the various endings which they possess.

After all, the first question surely is what is the earliest form attainable of this or that name ? the next, can any meaning be attached to the name ? and the next, how, and by what process of change has the earliest form developed into the modern or present-day form ? When these points are settled conclusively, it will be time to speculate as to *why* the name was given to the place.

The answers to the three questions which I have enumerated,

and which I take to be of primary importance in any treatment of the subject, can only be given after an appeal to the earliest documents, an interpretation of their written forms, and the application of the known facts of linguistic development which exist in the language of the people who gave the name, and whose descendants continue, to this day, to use it.

In other words, the history of the names of places is part of the history of the language of the country in which they occur. The problems which arise in inquiries of this kind are, for the most part, of a purely linguistic or 'philological' nature.

When names were first given to places, or localities, fields, hills, valleys, and so on, these names had a meaning. This meaning has in many cases become obscured; in others, it has been retained, or at any rate the modern form has acquired a meaning, although it may be different from that of the original name.

Why has the meaning of so many Place Names become obscured? For one of two reasons, or by virtue of a combination of both. In the first place it must be remembered that most Place Names are compounds of at least two originally distinct elements or words. This is not the direct reason for the obscuring of the meaning, though it may be an indirect cause. Words in combination with other words often develop differently from the same words when uncompounded. For instance, the word we spell *housewife* is pronounced 'huzzif' (hazif). Here both elements have been altered: the vowel in *house*, O. E. *hūs*, has been shortened before the consonants *-sw-*, and the vowel in *wife*, O. E. *wīf* has been shortened because it is unstressed or unemphasised in the compound. In this case, it is true that the spelling leaves no doubt as to the origin of the compound, in fact the spelling has caused many people to pronounce the compound as though it consisted of two independent words.

Precisely the same tendencies are observable in Place Names. The vowels of the first elements are influenced by the combinations of consonants which follow, and the vowels of the second elements are altered by the absence of stress or emphasis, since in all true compounds in English the first element is stressed, and the second loses its stress, and therefore its independent form and character. In such a name as *Bradley*, O. E. *Brādlēah*, the vowel of the first element was shortened before *-dl-*, that of the second was shortened by being unstressed, hence the Modern (*brædli*) in the compound, compared with the independent words *broad*, *lea*. The first reason then why the meaning of

Place Names is not always apparent from their modern form, is that certain *combinative sound changes*, as they are called, have operated to alter the forms of the elements beyond recognition, so that we can no longer identify them with the independent words. (For definition of combinative change, see § 5 below; for examples of these in Lancashire Place Names, see §§ 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.)

The next reason why a great number of Place Names have no meaning for us is that one or both elements of which they are composed have been lost, that is, are no longer in use as independent words. The first element is often a proper name, common perhaps among the Anglo-Saxons, or the old Scandinavians, but no longer in use among modern English people. The name *Grimsargh* represents the older *Grimmes hœrh*; *Grimm* being a common Norse man's name, and *hœrh* being an O. E. word meaning 'high place,' 'grove,' 'temple.' An even more difficult proper name for modern Englishmen to recognise is *Grimkel*, earlier *Grimketill*, which is the first element in *Cringlebarrow* (q. v. below).

Sound changes, combined with the perishing of the personal names and elements in the above names, have obliterated the original meaning. Even more remarkable, perhaps, is the combination of obscuring factors seen in *Osmotherley*, from *Osmunderhlāw*, where the first element is a well-known personal name, and the second a common O. E. word, meaning 'hill,' 'funeral mound,' or in *Arnside* from *Arnulfeshēāfod*, 'head' or 'peak' of *Arnulf*, or in *Cumeralgh* from *Gunnbjorgirhalh*, where the first element is an O. N. female name, and the second a very common ending in Place Names, which seems to have various meanings, such as 'bay,' 'hollow place,' 'corner,' 'nook,' etc. See *halh* in Pt. II.

It is clear that in cases where the elements of names have been so altered by the above-mentioned factors as to become unrecognisable, the only way of arriving at them is to discover forms, that is, spellings of the names, which represent the pronunciation of a period earlier than the sound changes which obscure the identity of the elements, or at any rate, forms sufficiently primitive to permit of the reconstruction, with a considerable amount of certainty, of more primitive forms still, in which the elements are not obscured.

CHAPTER II

METHODS OF THE INQUIRY

The most obvious preliminary step in the elucidation of a Place Name is to collect all the early spellings available from the various documents, and to arrange them in chronological order, that is, according to the date at which the documents were written in which the forms occur. But we soon find, when we have collected—say a dozen forms of a name, as it is found in documents written between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries—that we have, not only such variants in spelling as are merely different ways of expressing the same form—*e.g. Liverpul, Liuerpul, Lyverpul*, etc.—but spellings which differ so greatly, that there can be no doubt that entirely different forms and pronunciations are intended. Thus side by side with the above spellings of Liverpool, we find on the one hand *Leverpul*, etc., and on the other *Litherpul*, etc. There can be no doubt in this case that we have spellings which indicate at least three distinct pronunciations of the same name. For the sake of clearness we call these *Types*. For other examples of such, or similar variants, or doublets, or types, the reader may look up most of the names in *-argh, Anglezark, Grimsargh, Kellamergh*, etc., all of which have forms in *-arewe*, side by side with those in *-argh*, etc., or such names as *Adgarley, Osmotherley, Cadishead*, which have several variants.

In cases of this kind a second arrangement is necessary, first according to *type*, and then, within each type, according to date.

Of the various *types* shown in the mediæval documents, only *one* can be the ancestor of a given modern form of the name. As a rule, we find that all the types save one are gradually eliminated. Sometimes more than one pronunciation survives to the present day, one form being official, and 'polite,' the other old-fashioned, or purely local. I shall have more to say later on as to the value of the local pronunciation. The spelling *Leverpoole* survived late into the seventeenth century, the pronunciation 'Wartree' (=wɔ̄tri) survives to the present day

side by side with 'Wavertree' (=weivətri). In cases where two pronunciations exist side by side, we are often able to find the ancestors of each among the early forms of the name. Conversely, when we find among the early forms several *types* we should be prepared to find, either among persons of different age, as I have said, or in the locality itself as compared with outside, that more than one of these mediæval *types* have survived in the pronunciation. It is important to draw attention to the necessity of disentangling the mediæval variants, because amateur students of the subject are apt to confuse them, and to imagine that the particular modern form which they happen to know, often merely a spelling-pronunciation, is descended from *all* the mediæval forms, or else that those early spellings which differ very widely from the modern form of the maps and gazetteers, are 'corruptions' or 'errors.' It is, of course, quite true, that some of the early forms are due to the stupidity or ignorance of the scribes, but this should not be assumed until it is shown that such forms cannot be accounted for, taking every available fact into consideration, in any other way.

THE REASONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF VARIANTS

Starting from the premise that as a rule the various *types* of the same Place Name found in the mediæval spellings are genuine, that is that they represent real differences of pronunciation, which could and did exist side by side, at the same time, it is clearly our business, in dealing with the development of a name to follow it as far as possible into all its various developments, and to endeavour to discover the reason for, and conditions of every phase of development. Every occurrence in the history of language has a reason, that is, it takes place under certain definite conditions which are generally not past finding out. Among the chief causes of variants of the same name are: (1) the use of the same element with different case-endings—nominative and oblique cases; (2) confusion of the second element with another totally different element; (3) analogy, or the influence of one Place Name or a group of Place Names on another, which had some resemblance to it or them; (4) popular etymology; (5) influence of the independent words; (6) co-existence of an English and Norse form of same name. A few remarks to illustrate each of these points will be in place here.

(1) **Influence of declensional endings.**—The variants *-(h)argh*, *(h)arewe* above alluded to, and many others, are easily explainable on this ground. The O. E. nominative *-hwrh* becomes in M. E.

(*h*)*arh*, and then simply *-ar*, or *-er* in unstressed syllables. This produces Mod. Engl. *-ar*, or *-er* (=ə). On the other hand the element was often used in the dative, the name being preceded by the prepositions *æt* or *tō*, in which case O. E. *hærge* becomes M. E. *-*(*h*)*arewe*, or *-*(*h*)*arwe*, etc., which would give Mod. Engl. *-*(*h*)*arrow*, as in *Harrow*-on-the-Hill, or *Peperharrow*. In the Lancashire names ending in this element, only the nominative types appear to survive at the present day.

(2) **Confusion of the unstressed element with another different word.**—I have given numerous examples below (§ 13), and need not give any more here, but I may point out that the fact that absence of stress shortens and obscures the second elements tends to encourage this confusion.

(3) **Influence of one name on another.**—It seems improbable that the various M. E. forms of *Liverpool* (q. v.) can be explained as merely phonetic variants of one original form. I am inclined to attribute the *Lither-* forms to the influence of the name *Litherland*. It is also possible that the vowel in the oldest form *Liver-* is itself due to the influence of the O. E. *-hlið*, 'slope,' 'hill.' Cp. discussion below under *Liverpool*.

(4) **Popular etymology.**—There is a persistent tendency to explain what we do not understand in language, by identifying it with something else, the meaning of which is clear. Possibly the Mod. form, *Hardhorn* (q. v.), from O. E. *Hordærn*, is the result of this process. In O. E., *ærn* was a well-known word, but already in M. E. it had ceased to have any meaning. It has apparently been identified here with O. E. *hyrn*, M. E. *hirn*, *hurn*, etc., meaning 'corner,' 'nook,' etc. *Inglewhite*, earlier *Ingelthweit*, *Smithdown* for earlier *Smēthedun*, *Smithhills* for *Smethchyll*, and *Heghdyk* (1565), earlier *Hedoc*, are other examples.

(5) **Influence of the independent words from which the elements originally came.**—When, in spite of the alteration of an element in a compound, through the action of *combinative changes*, the original meaning is still discernible, or traditionally preserved, and when the independent word with the same meaning still survives, and is identified with the element in question, there is a tendency for the independent word to influence the form of the element. In the Place Name beginning with O. E. *brād-*, in which the vowel of this word undergoes shortening before a following consonant—M. E. *brăd-* —the meaning, and the relationship to the independent M. E. *brōd*, were still quite apparent; hence we find variants in which the first element is written, and doubtless pronounced, with *ō*. The same process is observable,

e.g., in the M. E. forms of names beginning with O. E. *āc*, 'oak,' cp. *Aigburth*, *Aughton*, *Ogden*.

(6) **Norse and English forms of a name.**—Engl. *Osmund-*; Norse, *Asmund-* (cp. sub *Osmotherley*); Norse, Kirk-*heim*, by the side of Engl. Kirk-*ham*; Norse *Gair*stang, Engl. *Gar*stang; Norse *Thurstaines*water, Engl. *Thurstān-*, and, perhaps, *Raysacre* (Norse) by the side of *Rāsaker* (Mod. *Roseacre*). The not infrequent interchange of the suffix *-den* (Engl.) with *-dale* in the early forms is probably an example of the indifferent use of an Engl. and Norse word meaning the same thing. The ending *-dale* may be English (see discussion in Pt. II.), but it is far more probably Norse in Lancashire Place Names; it is rare, if not unknown, in areas in England, where there is no Norse influence, and it is one of the commonest suffixes in the Scandinavian countries. Most of the names ending in *-dale* have examples of *-dene* among their early forms—*Skelmaresden* (1202), for more frequent *Skelmaresdale*. See also under *Ainsdale*. Similarly Norse *-skōg* (M. E. *-skōh*, etc.) interchanges with Engl. *-schawe*, 'shaw' (O. E. sċeaga). The words are cognate and mean the same thing.

THE PEDIGREE OF NAMES

When we have got our forms classified, (*a*) according to type, (*b*) according to the year in which they were written down, it might be supposed that we should have a series of forms which would show the gradual development of the name, from the earliest form obtainable down to the latest; that we should have in fact a fairly complete pedigree of the name. Unfortunately this is by no means the case. If the reader will glance through the lists of names in Pt. I. below, he will find, that in almost every case where there are a fair number of forms of a name, drawn from documents covering a space of several centuries, we find, quite early, a spelling which implies a great deviation from the original and fullest form of the name, and then, considerably later, a return to spellings which represent a comparatively primitive stage of development. The meaning of this apparently strange phenomenon is that an early scribe often puts down what is really a very fair representation of the pronunciation of his day, while all the time there is a traditional spelling, copied from documents, much older than any we now possess, which is handed on from one charter or other document to another. This may become the official spelling, and may continue in use down to the present time.

The early phonetic spellings are really lapses of the scribe, who in a moment of forgetfulness omits to copy, and puts down what he actually pronounces. These scribal lapses are of great value in enabling us to fix the date before which certain changes in the pronunciation must have occurred. If we find such a spelling as *Grimser* in the twelfth century, it at once shows that all the subsequent spellings which look so archaic (*Grimesharege*, etc.), are bogus as representing contemporary pronunciation, however valuable they may be in telling us what the *original* form of the name was. Thus, however rich be the store of early forms which we possess of a given name, and however complete our collection of spellings, ranging perhaps over a long period of time, and confirmed by their occurrence in a goodly number of documents, we see that the real pedigree of the name, or of the various types of it, is not to be found in the imposing chronological lists which we are sometimes able to present. We have to construct the *real pedigree* for ourselves. We do this by considering carefully all the forms before us of each type, and then by reconstructing the parent of each type, and its successive stages of development. This is accomplished by applying the known principles and facts of sound change in the English language, facts and principles which have been established by a study of the details of the history of the pronunciation of English from all the available sources of information.

Thus the task of the historian of Place Names is twofold: he must both identify the elements of which a name is composed, and trace the development of each name as a whole.

HOW FAR PLACE NAMES CAN BE TREATED LIKE OTHER WORDS

Our experience leads us unhesitatingly to the conclusion that to put Place Names in a category separate from the rest of the language of the people by whom they are used is disastrous.

A general principle of modern linguistic method is that a given sound tends to change, in the same dialect, at the same time, in the same direction, under similar conditions. No etymology arrived at by any other method than one which takes this as an axiom is likely to be sound. What is true of other elements of speech is true of the names of persons and places. At the same time we admit, that from the earliest period, what is known as *analogy* has a potent effect in altering the results of pure phonetic change, or rather in *substituting* for forms developed according to the tendencies of phonetic change, other forms, the result of an association, in the minds of the speakers,

of words with other quite different words or groups of words. This principle of analogy is rather more active in the case of the names of Persons and Places than it is in that of other words. This is natural when we consider the tendency to make names mean something, the fact, already alluded to, that names being compounds tend to become obscured and altered in their form through the influence of combinative sound changes, that the elements of which they originally consisted have often become obsolete as independent words, and that some therefore would be unintelligible even if they had not been modified by combinative change. There seems to be a universal, unconscious desire to make one element at least of a name mean something, even if that meaning have no apparent connection with a place at all.

Thus, while we find that on the whole Place Names develop according to the ordinary laws of sound change, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that analogy is a very important factor, and one with which we have to reckon in considering their history. If it sometimes happens that sound changes take place in names, which cannot be paralleled from the history of other words, it must be remembered that, from the nature of the case, combinations of sounds may occur, and syllables may stand under conditions of stress, in Names, which are not present in the ordinary words of the language. The remarkable shortenings, contractions, and loss of whole syllables, of which I have given some examples below (§ 14)), are probably examples of changes occurring under peculiar distributions of quantity and stress, which would be impossible in ordinary English words, other than names.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ELEMENTS OF PLACE NAMES

In the case of areas in connection with which large quantities of genuine documents of the O. E. period exist, the identification of the elements of Place Names with the independent words is comparatively simple and certain. In the oldest documents, most of the names which occur are perfectly transparent in origin and meaning. In fact in many cases they have hardly reached the stage of becoming full-blown compounds, or Place Names in our sense. They are mere designations of particular fields, ditches, brooks, trees, walls, wells, and so on. They are rather phrases, or groups of independent words, than definite and permanent Place Names. Thus if the reader will turn to such a collection of Charters as that in Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus, from which copious examples are drawn in Pt. II. below, he will

find such boundary indications as ' the old wall,' ' the withered thorn,' ' the new enclosure,' 'the old ditch,' ' the old byres,' and so on. These, and thousands of others, are place names in the making. Under favourable conditions they become permanent designations, not merely of the particular well, ditch, wall, thorn, etc., but of whole localities. In the case of such an area as Lancashire the case is very different. We have no really old documents to speak of, and the earliest, a few charters of the eleventh century, are frequently the work of foreigners who found it impossible to express in writing the sounds of a language with which they were unfamiliar, sounds which they often could not hear correctly, and which they possessed no means of expressing in their alphabet, even if they had been able to hear them properly. The identification of the elements, under these circumstances, is often very difficult. It is very desirable in such a case to show that the element which we assume to have occurred in a particular name, unless, of course, it be a very common and unmistakable element in Place Names, actually *is* used in England in such a way, and to illustrate the use by examples of forms—regular Place Names, or boundary marks, etc., drawn from genuine O. E. sources, which leave no doubt as to the identity of the form in question. In the case where we assume a personal name as an element in a Place Name, it is highly desirable to show (1) that this name actually existed as a personal name either in England or Norway ; (2) in the latter case that it was in use in England at an early period (prior to the date of the earliest document containing the name in Lancashire) ; (3) that the name does occur in Place Names other than that in Lancashire, and actually under investigation ; (4) granting these points satisfactorily established, that it can and does assume the form, in other documents, which it has assumed in Lancashire in the Place Name in which we suppose it to exist. A good example of complete identification is *Grimketill* or *Grimkel* with the first element in *Cringlebarrow* (q. v.). Here we have not only established points, 1, 2, 3, but have further shown documentary evidence for every step in the change from *Grimkel* to *Cringle.* [For a tabulated statement of some of the chief general principles of method, see also § 4 in the Phonology below.]

CHAPTER III

THE SOURCES OF LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES AND THEIR CHARACTER

The documents from which our early forms are derived are enumerated at the beginning of this volume. In the foregoing pages of this Introduction I have pointed out that the spellings of the names in these early documents are of various nature and differ considerably in value.

The spellings of the documents may be definitely classed under three heads :—

(1) Those based upon earlier documents, in which the spelling is often but slightly, if at all, removed from that of the O. E. period in character ;

(2) Those spellings which are attempts to represent the actual pronunciation at the time the document was written ;

(3) Spellings which are those of foreign scribes attempting to convey, in their own way, the pronunciations which they heard from natives.

Nos. 1 and 2 may occur at any period, down to the time when the spelling becomes fixed ; No. 3 occur chiefly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The best forms for the purpose of arriving at the original structure of a name are, of course, as a rule, those which have No. 1 type of spelling ; in tracing the subsequent history of the form, No. 2 alone is valuable, though naturally No. 3 is useful, provided we are able to interpret our scribe's symbols correctly, and that we can be sure that he has heard correctly. It very often happens that the form of a name as it appears in the earliest document we have, is by no means the most illuminative as to its origin. The reason for this is, that we have practically no Lancashire names recorded before the end of the eleventh century, and that this is just the period of the foreign scribe. As a rule, the foreign scribe is of little use in helping us to the *original form* of the name, unless he has copied his form from an earlier document. Too often, he has not done this, but has tried to put

down the pronunciation which he thought he heard. Now a foreigner who is imperfectly acquainted with English, in the first place, rarely *hears* accurately, and even if he does, and if his symbols enable us to understand what sounds he is trying to express, the fact remains, that by the end of the eleventh century, several combinative changes had already occurred in the native pronunciation, so that even spellings which show the genuine pronunciation of this period are unsatisfactory as guides to the original form.

Later scribes, Englishmen, very often copy the spelling from that of much earlier documents, though, as we have seen, they also sometimes indulge in phonetic spelling.

It is remarkable that in quite late sixteenth and seventeenth century documents, such as the Richmond Wills, the Preston Guild Rolls, or the documents in Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., we often meet for the first time, a spelling which is apparently based upon early documents, which carry on the tradition of what is practically an O. E. spelling.

In some cases when these spellings are sufficiently convincing, I have not hesitated, failing other earlier testimony, to assume that we have a genuine primitive form, *e.g. Cholbent* for Mod. *Chowbent* (see under this name in Pt. I.). It seems to me improbable, to say the least of it, that a late scribe should have invented such a form as *Cholbent*, unless he had had something to go upon, while, on the analogy of *Molbrek*, which becomes *Mowbrek*, *Chowbent* (=M. E. Chū-) is just what we should expect *Cholbent* to become.

These late wills are of value also, in many cases, as showing what was the popular pronunciation of a name in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. After reading through many hundreds of the spellings in the four volumes of documents just mentioned, I am convinced that they are very often attempts to record genuine pronunciations of the period. The same is true of the spelling of some of the late documents in the collection known as the Ducatus Lancastriae.

An example of the kind of spelling here referred to is *Carpmell* for *Cartmell* (1508). Assuming that a pronunciation with *t* existed side by side with one which omitted this sound, the assimilation of *t* to *p* through the influence of *m* is a perfectly natural process, and I cannot doubt that the form records a genuine pronunciation. I suppose that no one can undertake a work on the lines of the present investigation, which involves a survey of hundreds of documents of the most varied character,

and of very different age, without becoming aware that light on the origin of a name may come from the most unexpected sources. Thus, while we naturally scrutinise the earliest documents with the utmost care, we cannot afford to disregard later sources. We never know where we may find what we want, and I venture to throw out the hint to subsequent students of Place Names, that they should not scorn sixteenth and seventeenth century documents, that they should leave no document which is accessible to them unexamined, but should patiently wade through them all. The amateur is very apt to think that an old document *must* be more valuable for his purpose than a later one, but a little experience of the sources will soon undeceive him, unless he is incapable of learning. Perhaps when he has found the same name occurring hundreds of times in precisely the same form in thirteenth century chartularies, as in modern maps—a common experience—his undiscriminating enthusiasm for 'the oldest spellings' will be a little damped, and he gradually learns that *genuine* thirteenth century forms, by which I mean spellings which reproduce, approximately, the pronunciation of that period, are very frequently of no use at all, for the simple reason that most of the principal sound changes, those which substantially altered the whole fabric of a word, had taken place by that time, as well as many new analogical formations of the names. Our chief hope of the earliest documents which mention Lancashire Place Names is that the spellings represent not the forms in use at the period when the documents were written, but those of a much older period. That is to say, that the really useful spellings in most of the old Lancashire documents are, considered as representing the pronunciation of the date of the documents themselves, sham spellings.

The scribes evidently had access to documents long antecedent to the time when they wrote, documents which have now, unfortunately, perished altogether.

These archaic spellings are handed on from century to century, and some of them are, with very slight alterations, the official spelling to-day. Others are found in the late documents which I have cited, though modern usage has departed from them for various reasons, sometimes merely through the whim of the map-maker, or Ordnance Survey man, sometimes because it (modern usage) has perpetuated a sixteenth or seventeenth century attempt at phonetic spelling.

Thus the late documents must be searched carefully, (*a*) for genuine archaic spellings, often to be found nowhere else; (*b*)

for genuine phonetic spellings which show the antiquity of the modern type of pronunciation.

I cannot leave the question of the value of the sources of Lancashire Place Names without a few remarks on the value of *Doomsday* spellings.

This wonderful work, whose value to the historian it would be impossible to overestimate, is frequently considerably overrated as a linguistic guide by the amateur student of Place Names. He is often apt to regard the Doomsday Book spellings with a kind of superstitious reverence. To question the value of these spelling is, for certain minds, to lay one's hand upon the Ark of the Covenant, and to court the fate of Huz. Everything that has been said about the work of foreign scribes applies with peculiar force to Doomsday Book. To use it with profit one must be able (*a*) to recognise an archaic form, derived from genuine O. E. documents, when one sees it; (*b*) to interpret with accuracy the phonetic symbols of the scribe; (*c*) to realise that in a large number of cases we have the spelling of a foreigner who is taking down, in his own spelling, names from a language which he does not know, whose sounds he cannot pronounce, and for some of which his alphabet has no proper symbols, even if he could pronounce them. (The student of Place Names will find Stolze's *Lautlehre d. altenglischen Ortsnamen in Doomsday Book* very useful.)

In concluding this section of introductory observations, a few words are due on the editing of the manuscripts of the various documents which have been used for the work. We must not forget that the editors were, I believe, without exception, devoted amateurs, who gave their time and trouble to the public with no thought of gain.

In such cases, it is obviously open to any trained scholar who is not satisfied with what has been done, to go and do the work all over again for himself. This would mean, of course, that such a work as the present would take as many decades to accomplish as we have been able to devote years to it. In other words, while we might consult the MS. here and there to clear up doubtful and very important points, any one undertaking such work must, in the main, rely upon the editors of the various texts with which he deals. In the present case, we have depended entirely, with the exception of the facsimile of Doomsday Book, upon printed materials. As a matter of fact any one who knows something of M. E., and of the habits of M. E. scribes, and who can compare the forms of one document with

those of a dozen others, can exercise a very fair check upon the editors.

Let me hasten to say that, with very few exceptions, the work of editing Lancashire documents has been done well and conscientiously. This merely means that on the whole we are safe in assuming that we really have the actual spellings of the MSS. before us in the published editions. There is one editor, who shall be nameless here, who is sometimes guilty of the monstrous error of ' correcting ' what he calls the ' corrupt ' spelling of the scribes ; as if he knew a ' corrupt ' form when he saw it, or had the knowledge to mend it, even supposing he could recognise it. Apart from this man, who, let it be said, generally has the grace to give the proper MS. spelling in a footnote, there are a few cases in which the editors did not know enough to understand the important phonetic distinction between the M. E. symbols *g* and ȝ. The latter never appears in any of the documents as printed, though it is hardly conceivable that it should never occur in any of the MSS. This, however, is not a very serious point, because we know, from various considerations, in which names the *sound* represented by the M. E. ȝ must have occurred.

Again there are a few cases where one shrewdly suspects that the editor mistook the O. E. symbols ƿ (= *w*) and þ (= *th*) for *p* and wrote the latter symbol.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

Those who expect to find, in English Place Names, evidence of keen poetic insight on the part of our forefathers, in the characterisation of the aspects of localities, will be disappointed by the truth. The physical features of the country, in so far as their character is recorded in traditional names, are noted, as a rule, only in the baldest and most general way. The names, when interpreted, are, for the most part, exceedingly matter-of-fact and unimaginative. They record obvious truisms, such as that here is a hill, there a ditch, here a wood, there a homestead. Beyond this, the names reveal that this hill is sharp, or pointed, that this wood is broad, that that field is green, that such a valley is deep, and that this homestead, or cot, or enclosure, belonged to Eadburgh, or Wulfstan, or Grimketill.

To drop generalities and come to details, it will be convenient for our present purpose to consider separately the character of the first and second elements of our names.

The second, or final element is the important one, since it tells us what natural or artificial feature, object or structure is actually perpetuated in the name. The first element has a qualifying, and particularising function, and tells us who the original owner was, what was the nature of the vegetation, what animals frequented the spot, what was its direction from some central point, or some other distinguishing quality of the locality.

THE SECOND ELEMENTS

We may divide these into four main classes, which between them will be found to cover, in a general way, most Place Names.

(1) **Geographical and topographical features.**—These include such elements as: *-bottom*, *-breck*, *-brook*, *-cliff*, *-cop*, *-dale*, *-dene*, *-edge*, *-gill*, *-greave*, *-grove*, *-hawse*, *-low*, *-lench*, *-lith*, *-how*, *-holm*, *-head*, *-hop*(e), *-hill*, *-hurst*, *-ith* (water), *-min* (river-mouth), *-ness*,

-nook, *-pool*, *-ridge*, *-shaw*, *-scar*, *-scough* (N. wood), *-twisle*, *-with* (N. ' wood '), *-wray* (N. ' corner '), *-well*, *-wood*, and many others.

(2) **Divisions, or portions of land.**— *-acre*, *-croft* (perhaps should go under 4 below), *-ea* (water-meadow), *-ing*, *-ley*, *-lee*, etc., *-mead*, *-snape* (pasture-land).

(3) **Landmarks and artificial features.**—These include *-ber*, *-barrow*, *-bergh* (all from O. E. *berg*), *-brand* (land cleared by burning), *-dam*, *-ditch*, *-dyke*, *-hey* (originally hedge, then that which was hedged or enclosed), *-rod* or *royd* (clearing through a forest), etc.

(4) **Political and economical designations,** under which I include *Human settlements, dwellings, barns, sheds, and structures generally.*—The principal elements embodying these conceptions are : *berewick*, *-by*, *-cot*, *-fold*, *-ham*, *-hargh*, *-stath*, *-steth*, *-scale*, *-seat* (appears often as *-shead*, *-side*), *-thorp*, *-thwaite*, *-ton*, *-wick*, *-worth*, *-worthy*.

THE FIRST ELEMENTS

(1) **Personal Names.**—A full list of the names which occur in the Lancashire Place Names is given below (pp. 277-279). They commonly occur before the elements in Class 4 above, but they may, and do, occur also before those in any of the other classes. A personal name as a prefix may imply ownership, residence, or it may be commemorative, and designate a tomb, as when it stands before such an element as *-ber*, *-barrow*, etc. It is not always possible to be absolutely certain whether such prefixes as O. E. *earn-*, or *arn-*, *Hræfn* and other names of birds and animals are really Personal Names, or refer to the animals.

(2) **Human Rank or Occupation.**—Under this heading we have *bishop-*, *pr(i)est-*, *king-* (also N. *konung-*), *ward-*, *wright-*, and (N.) *kaupman-*. What has been said above as to the implication of Personal Names as a prefix, applies very largely to this class also.

(3) **Trees, crops, and vegetation.**

(*a*) *Trees :—ac-*, etc (oak), *acorn-*, *apple-*, *ash-*, *aspen-*, *birch-*, *bor-* (N. mountain ash), *hasel-*, *hawthorn-*, *hollin-* (holly), *thorn-*, *whin-*, *withy-*.

(*b*) *Crops :—bere-* (barley), *big-* (N. barley), *corn-*, *grass-*, *haver-* (oats), *wheat-*, *rye-*.

(*c*) *Other plants :—Bent-*, *bracken-*, *brier* , *broom-* (often as *brom-*), *gorse-*, *mallow-*, *ramp-* (garlic), *reed*, *rush-*, *rish-*.

(4) **Animals and birds.**—*Boar-*, *bull-*, *cat-*, *cock-* (?), *cuckoo-*, *crow-*, *curlew*, *cow-*, *duck-* (?) *ened-* (duck), *earn-* (eagle), *fish-*,

goose, *hawk-* (?), *hen-* (?), *ox*, *raven* (?), *ram-* (?), *rither-* (cattle), *ros-* (O. E. *hros*=horse , *wolf-* (?). The names which I have queried may be men's names. *Otter-* in *Otterspool* is almost certainly the personal name *Ohthere*, cp. sub. *Otterspool* in Pt. I.

(5) **Colours**.—*Black-*, *bla-* (blue), *brown-* (*brun-*), *bright-*, *gray-*, *green-*, *white-* (*whit-*), *red-*.

CHAPTER V

OUTLINES OF THE PHONOLOGY OF LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES

Phonetic Symbols used in this Book

Vowels.		Consonants.	
Symbol.	Key Word.	Symbol.	Key Word.
(i)	b*i*t	(t)	*t*ake
(ɛ)	b*e*t	(d)	*d*og
(æ)	b*a*t	(þ)	*th*in
(ī)	b*ea*t	(ð)	*th*is
(e)	French *é*	(n)	*n*o
(ā)	f*a*ther	(l)	*l*ip
(u)	p*u*t	(r)	*r*oe
(o)	p*o*t	(s)	*s*ee
(ū)	b*oo*t	(z)	si*z*e
(ō)	Gmn. schon	(ʃ)	fi*sh*
(ɔ̄)	s*aw*	(ž)	rou*ge*, French *j*amais
(ā)	b*ir*d	(j)	*y*ear
(ə)	fath*er*	(p)	*p*ie
(ai)	n*i*ne	(b)	*b*ig
(ei)	d*ay*	(f)	*f*it
(au)	h*ou*se	(v)	*v*ine
(ou)	n*o*te	(w)	*w*ell
(oi)	b*oi*l	(ʍ)	*wh*eel (Scotch pronunciation)
		(m)	*m*y
		(k)	*k*ite, cat
		(g)	*g*o
		(ŋ)	si*ng*
		(h)	*h*ay, initially ; when medial, or final, as in Gmn. *ach* Scot. lo*ch*

Note.—The precise pronunciation, so far as it can be expressed by the systematic use of the above symbols, is usually placed within round brackets ( ) thus *Kirkdale* (kātə), etc. When any combinations of vowel symbols are used, each vowel is to be understood to have the value indicated above. Length is marked by a stroke over the vowel symbol (ā). Vowels not marked long are assumed to be short. Stress is marked (á) as (kenúweslei), etc.

In Part I. the pronunciation of the *names*, when given, is included in square brackets [ ], after the ordinary spelling.

NOTES ON M. E. SPELLING

§ 1. For the benefit of those unacquainted with the ways of M. E. scribes, a few remarks may be useful as to the value of the symbols which they use.

§ 2. **Vowels** :—

(1) The sound of short u (u) is commonly expressed by *o* when it occurs in the proximity of such letters as *w*, *n*, *m*, *v*. This is purely graphic, to avoid the confusion of a number of strokes. The suffix *-tun* is almost always written *-ton*, but it must not be supposed that this had any other sound than (tun). English *son* is an example of this habit; in M. E. it is *sone*, O. E. *sunu*. Cp. also *Wolstanesholm* = O. E. *Wulfstān-*, *Worthesthorn* (1202), etc., but *Wursthorn* (1328).

(2) The sound of long u (ū) is almost invariably written *ou* as in *hous*, O. E. *hūs*. This sound (ū) becomes the diphthong (*a*u) in Mod. Engl. (h*a*us), but was (ū) during the whole M. E. period, being diphthongised about 1500. It must be borne in mind, however, that in M. E. *ou* may stand for a diphthong (ou) as in *Houghton*, in which case it represents a sound which in Mod. Engl. has become (ō). The Mod. forms are a test of the value of M. E. *ou*; Mod. (*a*u) = M. E. (ū), Mod. (ō)= M. E. (o͝u).

(3) The M. E. symbol *y* when used for a vowel represents (ī) as a rule, and might equally well be written *i*. It never by any chance has in M. E. the value which it had in O. E. that is that of French *u* in *lune*.

(4) In the fourteenth century, and afterwards, *ie* is written by some scribes for long tense ē (ē), to distinguish it from the slack ē (ɛ̄), which was written either *e* or *ea*. The spelling *ie* occurs in one form of *Liverpool* (q. v.), but as this is thirteenth century, it is doubtful whether we are justified in considering this a case in point.

§ 3. **Consonants** :—

The various ways of writing the *back* and *front* consonants are described below (§§ 14, 15). Among the other consonants we may mention the following :—

(1) The 'sh'-sound (ʃ) is commonly written *sch*, *sh*, and sometimes *ss* in M. E.

(2) Voiceless *w* (ʍ) is usually written *hu*, *hw*, and later *wh*. Northern and Midland scribes also very commonly write *qu* for this sound. A few examples of this occur in our sources. *Quite-*

well (1283) for *Whitwell*, *Quitantun* (1259) for *Whittington*, *Quitehalhe* (1292) for *Whittle*, *Quitacre* (1246) for *Whitaker*, etc.

(3) *u* and *v* are written indifferently for the sound of (v) as in *Liuerpul*, *Vlueston*=*Ulveston*, etc. In some cases it is difficult to tell whether *u* has the value of a consonant (v), or whether it is a vowel. *w* is occasionally written for *wu*, as in *Wlston* (1292), *Woolston*, *Wrdestorn* (1202) for *Worsthorne*, *Wrdeston* (1242) for *Worston*, etc. etc.

Doomsday writes *vl-* for *wul-* in *Vluentone* = *Woolton*.

PHONOLOGY

Sound Changes observable in the Place Names

§4. Before entering into such phonological details as the present subject requires, it may be well to submit certain general considerations. The following points summarise to some extent the principles formulated in the preceding pages.

(1) We are dealing with the development of *sounds*, and not primarily with spellings.

(2) Sounds change in every language, from age to age.

(3) Spelling changes, to some extent, from age to age; in some cases to express changes of pronunciation, sometimes from other causes.

(4) Spelling is of no interest or importance, in tracing the development of the pronunciation of a word, unless it throws some light on pronunciation.

(5) Change of spelling does not always imply change of sound, e.g. O. E. *hūs*, and M. E. *hous* both had the same sound; nor does it follow that because the spelling is unaltered, the sound has also remained the same, *e.g.* Mod. Engl. *house*, has a very different vowel from M. E. *hous*.

(6) Therefore the spelling of each age has to be interpreted from the known habits of the particular age, in the use of symbols.

(7) We have to judge how far a given spelling really represents the pronunciation in vogue at the time the document was written, and we must distinguish (*a*) spellings which express the pronunciation of the age to which the document belongs, and (*b*) spellings copied from earlier documents, which may represent a pronunciation far older than the document in which such spellings occur.

(8) When we find such a spelling as *Grimesarge* in Doomsday we may perhaps assume, supposing we know what the scribe meant

by the symbols which he uses, that it represents, approximately the pronunciation of 1086; but when we find practically the same spelling as late as 1351, we do not believe that it represents the pronunciation of that date, because, about the same time we find a spelling *Grimser*, which the scribe could hardly have invented unless it really meant something. Later on we again find *Grimsargh*, etc., which indeed is the spelling to-day, but we do not suppose that people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries recurred to an older form of pronunciation one which in fact they could not know. At the present time, no doubt, many people pronounce the name of this place, as they would say, '*as it is spelt*,' but a pronunciation thus arrived at has no value or interest, and is quite different from that which the scribes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries intended to express when they wrote this combination of letters.

§ 5. **Isolative and combinative sound changes** :—

Isolative sound changes are those which take place in isolated sounds, without any influence of other neighbouring sounds. Thus O. E. *ā* becomes M. E. *ō*, *hām*, *hōm* because of a tendency, the reason of which we do not know, to round this particular vowel, about the middle of the twelfth century.

Combinative changes, on the other hand, occur under certain definite conditions, which are either (*a*) the nature of preceding or following sounds, or (*b*) the conditions, place, etc., of the *accent*, or *stress*.

§ 6. **M. E. Vowel Changes in stressed syllables** :—

The *Isolative* changes in the pronunciation of the English vowels, which took place during the M. E. period, that call for mention here, are very few.

(1) O. E. *ā*<M. E. ō :—*hām*<*hōm*, *rād*<*rōd*, 'road'; *Rābi*<*Rōbi*, *Brādalæh*<*Brōdelei*.

hlā(w)<*lō* 'mound,' *āc*<*ōk*(*e*), *Lāngaford*<*Lōngeford*, etc.

(The sound of this M. E. ō like that of ō in § 8, 1, *c* below was approximately (ɔ̄) as in Engl. *saw*.)

(2) O. E. *y*<*i* :—*hryċġ*<*rigge*, *bryċġ*<*brigge*, *byriġ*<*biri*, *cyning*, *cyng*, 'king'<*king*, *hyll*<*hill*.

(The sound of O. E. *y* was that of French *u* in lune; and that of M. E. *i*, that of short *i* at the present time.)

(3) O. E. *ǣ*<M. E. *ē* (ɛ̄) :—*hǣþ*<*hēth*(*e*), 'heath,' (*ġe*)*mǣru*<*mēre*, 'boundary,' *hǣfod* (late O. E.)<*hēved*, *Ædburg*- from earlier *Ēadburg*<*Ēdburg*-. See § 9 (1) on shortening of this *ē*, and § 11 on the form *Adburg*.

(The pronunciation of O. E. *ǣ* was that of the vowel in Engl. *hat*, only long; that in the M. E. *ē* derived from it was the sound of *head*, long, as in French *tête*. We use (ɛ) for this sound which must be distinguished from the other M. E. *ē*, which was pronounced like French *é*, and was raised to its present sound (ī) as early as the sixteenth century. M. E. (ɛ̄) on the other hand did not in most cases attain its present sound, also (ī) until fairly late in the eighteenth century.)

§ 7. Combinative Vowel Changes

(1) O. E. *-āw*<M. E. *āu* :—*hlāw, -lau, -law.*

(With this cp. *lō* from *hlā* according to § 6 (1) above. The nom. O. E. *hlā* normally lost the *w* which was retained in oblique cases, *hlāwe*, etc. M. E. forms in *-lo(w)*, etc. represent the O. E. nom., those in *-law* the oblique cases. The pronunciation of M. E. *aw* is that of a diphthong (*au*) as in Mod. Germ. *haus*, etc.)

(2) O. E. *-ag, -aga*<M. E. *aw, awe* :—*-sċeaga*<*schawe*, 'wood, shaw,' *sagu*<*sawe, dragan*<*drawen.*

(Cp. § 14 (2) below on treatment of O. E. *g* itself in this combination.)

(3) O. E. or early M. E. *-ah*< M. E. *-auh* :—*lahter*< *lauhter, Ahton*<*Au(g)hton, Clahton*<*Clau(g)hton.*

(4) O. E. *-alh*<*auh* :—*Halhton*<*Hau(g)hton.*

(5) O. E. *-al-* +consonant<*au* :—*Aldenschah*<*Audenshaw, Aldeley*<*Audley, Dalton*<*Dauton, Salford*<*Sauford*, etc.

(This *au* is a genuine diphthong=Germ. *au* in *haus*.)

(6) O. E. or early M. E. *-oh*<M. E. *ouh* :—*Hoktūn*<*Hohtūn*< *Houghton, Broctun*<*Brohtūn*<*Brouhtūn, Trohden*< *Trouhden.*

(For treatment of O. E. *-kt-*<*-ht*, cp. § 16 below. *h* disappears later, in pronunciation, leaving the diphthong alone, *Broutun, Trouden*, etc. The mod. spellings are no guide. For shortening of O. E. *brōc-, Hōk-, trōh-* before *t*, cp. § 9 (1) below.

(7) O. E. *-ul, -ol* +consonant<*ou, ow*=(ū) :—*Molbrek*<*Moubrek, Cholbent*<*Choubent.*

(8) O. E. *eġ, æ̆ġ, -ǣħ, aħ*, or the same combinations if they arose in early M. E. become the diphthongs *ĕi, ăi* :— *weġ*<*wei*, 'way,' *græġ*<*grei, grai, mǣġden*<*meiden, Aħ·tūn*<*Aitun.*

(For the pronunciation of *g* and *h*, cp. § 15, (2 and 3) below.)

(9) O. E. *-er-*<*-ar-* :—*Barlow*>*berehlāw* ; *Marsden*>*Merklesdene* ; *Martholm*>*Merketholm.* This *-ar-* becomes *-or-* in a few names :—*Chorley*>*Cherley, Chorlton*>*Cherletun, Borwick*>*Berwick.*

§ 8. Lengthening of Original Short Vowels

(1) *In open syllables*, that is in words of more than one syllable, in which only one consonant follows the vowel.

This process affects the vowels *a, e, o.*

(*a*) Lengthening of *ă* :—*dălas—dāles*, ' valleys.'

(*b*) Lengthening of *ĕ* :—*bere—bēre*, ' barley,' *mĕre—mēre*, ' lake,'

(*c*) Lengthening of *ŏ* :—*hŏle—hōle, bŏtel—bōtel, cŏte—cōte.*

(M. E. *ā* of this origin never catches up O. E. *ā*, which was already rounded to *ō* before the lengthening of *ā* took place. *ē* and *ō* of this origin are ' slack ' vowels (*ɛ̄*, *ɔ̄*) respectively, identical in sound with *ē*, *ō* in § 6 (1 and 3) above.)

(2) Lengthening of *vowels through* loss of following consonant. *l* is lost before certain consonants (cp. § 19 (6) below), but before being lost a glide is developed between it and preceding vowel, which is subsequently lengthened. This is the case with *u.* In consideration of the examples in § 7 (4 and 5) above, the process was probably that a parasitic glide *-u* was developed, which combined with the already existing *u* and produced *ū.* Examples are :—*Ul(f)thwaite*<*Ūthwaite, Knulweslei*<*Knūweslei, Pulton*<*Pūton.* This *ū* was often written *ou* or *ow.* Cp. § 2 (2) above.

§ 9. Shortening of Original Long Vowels in Stressed Syllables

O. E. long vowels are shortened in M. E. before certain combinations of consonants. These shortenings are of the utmost importance in the future history of words, since long vowels undergo during the M. E. and Mod. periods, many changes from which short vowels are immune.

The principal combinations are :—

(1) *Two stops* :—*Ēdburgh-* (cp. § 6 (3) above)<*Ĕdburgh-, Ēdgār-*<*Ĕdgar-, Hōktūn*<*Hŏktun* (for later treatment of this see §§ 16 below and 7(6) above).

(2) *Stop+nasal*, or *l* :—*Widness*<*Wĭdness, Brādlæh*<*Brădlei.*

(3) *Stop+open cons* :—*Brādsċeaga*<*Brădschawe.*

(4) *Open cons.+stop* :—*Smēþdūn*<*Smeþdun*<*Smeddun* (later *Smeddon*, '*Smithdown*'), *Sūþtūn*<*Sūþtun*<*Sutton*,) *Prēsttun*<*Prĕstun*.

(5) *l+open cons.*:—*Fūlwudu*<*Fŭlwude*.

(6) *Open cons.+open cons. or h* :—*Gōsford*<*Gŏsford*.

(The proof of these shortenings, which of course are not shown in the spelling, lies partly in the later developments of the vowels, partly in the facts of M. E. grammar, for which the reader may consult such general works as Sweet's Hist. of Engl. Sounds or Wyld's Hist. Study of Mother Tongue, or as a special work, Morsbach's Mittelenglische Grammatik. In cases where shortening has not taken place, the earlier forms had a flexional vowel between the two consonants, as in *Broadly*>*Brādalæh*, compared with *Bradley* from *Brădlāh*. Again the independent word may influence the form in the compound—*Stoneleigh*> *Stānlæh*, instead of *Stanley*, through influence of *stone*, etc).

§ 10. *Doublets with i and e* (*ē* ?).

It is doubtful whether the alternation of vowels in the following names can be explained on purely phonological grounds. In some cases, at any rate, it is probably necessary to assume the influence of other names.

In the M. E. period, and down to comparatively late we get *Liverpul—Lĕverpul*, *Litherland—Letherland*, *Lithum—Lethum*, *Livesey—Levesey*. See the various forms of these names in the lists, and the discussion under each.

§ 11. Shifting of Stress in Diphthongs

The following forms are due to a shifting of stress from the first to the second element of the O. E. diphthongs. *Ēadgares hliþ* (*Adgarley*) < *Ēadgareshliþ* < *Ādgareshliþ*, *Ēadburghām-* (*Abram*)<*Ēadburghām*<*Ādburgham*.

The initial *ā* is then shortened according to § 9 (1) above.

12. Shortening of the Vowels of Unstressed Syllables

It is a regular habit of English speech to reduce all vowels in unstressed syllables—long vowels become short, short vowels often disappear altogether.

M. E. *rōd*, 'clearing,' is shortened to *-rŏd* :—*Blackrod*.

O. E. *hām* in the unstressed syllable of a compound is shortened very early to *hăm* ; the shortening took place before the period of rounding O. E. *ā*. Cp. § 6 (1) above :—*Edburgham*, *Heysham*, etc., etc.

This early shortening of *-hām* makes it indistinguishable from O. E. *-hamm* (q. v. Pt. II.) in the unstressed position.

O. E. *-tūn*<*-tun*, as is shown by the spelling *-ton*. Cp. § 2 (1) above. *Halton*, *Appelton*, etc., etc.

O. E. *lǣh·*<*lĕ*. Although the full form of this suffix—M. E. *-lei*, or oblique *-leghe*—is usually written, this is due either to the scribe's knowledge of the identity of the element with the independent *lei*, or to the traditional spelling of the documents. On the other hand we often find the spelling *-le*, especially in Doomsday, where the foreign scribes probably did not know the independent word, and merely put down what they heard. The Doomsday spelling of *Knowsley* is *Chenulueslei*, it is true, but here the whole form of the word leads one to believe that the scribes had an older document before them. The same place is written *Knuvesle* in 1199 (L. F.).

O. E. *-hyll* in the Mod. forms is constantly merely *-le* (l) as in *Brindle*, or *-ull*, pronounced in the same way, as in *Copull*, *Aspull*, etc. There can be little doubt from the various spellings in M. E. *-(h)ul*, *al*, *(h)il*, etc., that already in this period the vowel was so indeterminate, that in the absence of a document from which to copy, the scribe was puzzled how to express it.

A glance at the spelling of the second or unstressed elements of the names in the lists will show the reader how vague the idea of what the original vowel was had become. It is pretty safe to assume, that when in the M. E. forms, the second element is perfectly clear, and written, *-hill*, *-halgh*, *-how*, etc., the scribe is not recording the pronunciation of the time, but copying from older documents.

§ 13. Confusion of Second Elements due to Shortening

The result of the shortening of unstressed syllables, was, that many originally distinct elements were levelled under one pronunciation, and thence there arises confusion in the spelling of the second elements. The scribe does not know what the original form was, and evolves a form from his imagination. Thus it sometimes happens that the element suggested by the Mod. spelling is quite different from that which predominates in the early spellings.

Examples of confusion and substitution of suffixes :—*hlīþ* and *-lei* :—*Adgareslith*—*Adgarley* ; *-lei* and *-law* (*low*)—*Asmunderlaw* —*Osmotherley*, *Kearsley* (Mod. form)—*Cherselawe* in 1186 ; *-well* —*wall*, *Aspenewell*, 1247—*Aspinwalle*, 1275 (Mod. *Aspinall*), *Childewelle*, 1177—*Childewall*, 1224—*Childewell*, 14th c.—Mod.

Childwall; *Tingwella*, 1175—*Thingewall*, 1320; *-halh—hæġ—haga—Stodale*, 13th c.—*Stodhagh* (five examples), from 1255-1496—*Stodhaigh*, 1190—Mod. *Stodday*; *—s+hōh—schaw—s+halh—Hacunesho*, 1199—*Hacuneshawe*, 1276—*Hakinshall*, 1245; *-s+hēved* (head)—*side—Arnulvesheved—Arnside*; *sēte—side Bernesete—Barnside*; *-sēte— -s+head—Cadwalesete—Cadishead.* The reader may examine the various spellings of what is now spelt *Greenhalgh*, if he wishes to see confusion between *-hill— -hōh— -halh.*

The above examples may serve to warn the ignorant and unwary, that to talk about the 'correct' form of a place name is rather foolish unless we define precisely what we mean by the term, and explain why we should single out a given form from the variety which oftens exists, and call it 'correct' as against the others.

A 'correct' form of a name can only mean that form which is actually in use at a given period. It appears from the early documents, that at one and the same period more than one type of the same name was often in use. In this case we can only say, that if it be clearly established that two or even three distinct types were really in use, then all are 'correct.' Now of the competing types, as a rule, only one survives in actual use at the present day. In some cases we write, or the map-makers write, one type, while the inhabitants of the locality, preserving a traditional pronunciation, use quite a different type. (On the causes of the origin of variants of a name, apart from confusion of suffix, see pp. 5-7 ante.)

§ 14. The Loss of Syllables in Unstressed Positions

The following names show a rather remarkable loss of whole syllables. It is difficult to formulate the precise law of these elisions, but it will be observed that in each case the syllable which is lost follows the initial syllable, that is the one which has the chief stress, and is followed by a very weak, flexional syllable, which in its turn is followed by the second element of the compound. Doubtless, the latter preserved a kind of secondary stress so long as its connection or identity with the independent word was recognised. In other words, the lost syllables are in all cases those which have the weakest stress, the flexional syllables excepted.

An(g)lezark>Anl(af)esharh; *Ainsdale>Ain(ulf)esdale*, *Altham>Al(ve)tham=Ælfġeateshām*, *Abram>Adb(u)r(gh)am*, *Arnside > Arn(ulfe)shēāfod*, *Bispham > Bis(co)pham*, *Cadishead <*

Cad(wall)essāte, Elswick>E(th)eleswic, Furness>Fu(de)rness, Hundersfield > Hunnswor(thes)feld, Kellamergh > Kel(fgri)mes -harh, Marsden>Merklesdene, Martholm>Merketholm, Orrell> Otgrimeshill, Tarleton>Thor(va)ldertun.

The change to *Knowsley* from *Kenulfeslэh* may be ascribed to the shifting of the stress; *Nibthwaite* from the fuller *Thornebthwaite* is probably not a phonetic change at all, but a simple omission of a prefix.

In dealing with names which appear to have lost a syllable, we must remember that personal names were often shortened in O. E., the contracted forms being as it were, pet-names, or familiar modes of appellation. Thus if a man's full name was *Wulfstān*, he was often called *Wulf*, and the name of his habitation might thus have two forms, let us say *Wulfstanes cot*, and *Wulfescot*, the former would produce Mod. Engl. **Woolstencot*, the latter **Woolcot*, just as at the present time, we might say either 'William's place,' or 'Will's place.' There were a very large number of O. E. personal names beginning with *Æðel-*, but in the majority of cases, even the M. E. forms in the Lancashire documents, merely have *Ethel-*, as in *Etheleswik* above, and not **Ethelwulfeswik*, or **Ethelstāneswik*, etc., although it is pretty certain that the original personal name in its full form was *Æðelstān*, *Æðelwulf*, *Æðelbald*, or one of the other very common compounds of this order.

In the case of such names as *Ainsdale*, we might assume that they were derived from the short form *Ain*, or *Ægin-* were it not for the fact that the full form appears in the early documents—*Ainulfesdale*, etc. In the case of *Ainsworth*, of which I have found no early form **Ainulfeswurth*, we may, I think safely assume that such a full original form once existed, though whether the Mod. form is derived from it by a process of phonetic shortening, or from an original short form **Ægineswurð*, we are, of course unable to say.

The Consonants

§ 14. Most consonantal changes which took place in M. E. were of a combinative character. The chief of these, as exhibited by the Lancashire Place Names will be set forth in due course.

It will be unnecessary to say much concerning the pronunciation of most of the M. E. consonants, as the symbols convey, even to those who know nothing about the history of English pronuntiation, an approximate idea of the sounds. There are two groups of consonantal sounds, however, that popularly and in-

accurately known as the 'gutturals,' and that even more inaccurately called 'palatals,' which require a few words of explanation, as the M. E. and O. E. symbols, for these sounds invariably convey an entirely wrong impression to the lay mind, which is but natural.

(1) **The Gutturals,** or as they are more exactly called, the *Back Consonants*, in O. E. were four in number, apart from the nasal, and were expressed by the symbols, *c*, ȝ, and *h*.

c expressed a *k*- sound and needs no further comment. ȝ stood for two back consonants, both voiced, a stop, and an open consonant respectively. (1) The back-voiced stop (the sound of *g* in *go*) was comparatively rare in O. E. It was, however, probably pronounced, whenever ȝ is written *initially*, both before back vowels, and before such consonants as *r*, *l*, *n*, by the year 1000.

Thus *gōs*, 'goose,' *gār*, 'spear,' *glōf*, 'glove,' *græs*, 'grass, were all pronounced in the late O. E. period with the same initial consonant as at the present day. This sound remained unaltered henceforth.

(2) On the other hand, when ȝ occurs, written medially after or before back vowels, as in *laȝu*, 'law,' *suȝu*, 'sow,' *fuȝol*, 'fowl,' 'bird,' or finally as in *plōȝ*, 'plow,' it *never, by any possibility, is intended to express a back stop*, but always a back *open consonant*, that is a sound heard in a certain German pronunciation of the word *sage*, etc.

This point is very important, because, unless it be known, the subsequent development of ȝ in this position is incomprehensible. It was an *open consonant*, and it tended to be what is known as 'lip-modified,' that is, to be accompanied by slight lip protrusion, with the result, that in M. E. it became a sound identical, or nearly so, with Mod. Engl. *w*, and it is so written. Thus O. E. *laȝu*<M. E. *lawe*, O. E. *suȝu*<M. E. *sŭwe*, O. E. *ploȝes*<M. E. *plōwes*, etc., O. E. *harȝe*<M. E. *harwe*, etc.

(3) There is a tendency for final ȝ to be unvoiced, and written *h* in late O. E., and in this case it was pronounced as a *back open voiceless consonant*, which we shall discuss under *h* below. In M. E. the back stop was early written with the new continental symbol *g*, ȝ being kept for another sound, as we shall see. There is no difficulty about the voiced O. E. *g* (stop), and the voiced O. E. ȝ (open cons.).

(4) Some difficulty, however, may exist concerning the nature and subsequent history of the voiceless *h*. This symbol re-

presented, initially, a mere aspirate, as at the present day, in late O. E. Medially and finally, however, it represented a strong *back open voiceless consonant*, like *-ch* in Scotch *loch*, or German *ach!* This sound is variously represented in M. E. as *h*, as *gh* (the best and commonest way), as *ch*, and even as *c* alone in the combination *-ct*.

What happened to this O. E. and M. E. *h*, the *back open voiceless consonant*? (*a*) It became *f* as in Mod. Engl. *laughter* (lāftə), O. E. *hlahtor*, or in Lancashire *Rufford*, from *Rūhford*, or in the popular (æftən) for *Aughton*, where the *gh* shows what the sound once was; (*b*) it formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel, and disappeared, as in *Houghton* (cp. § 7(6)); (*c*) it disappeared, leaving no trace at the present time as in *Ditton* from *Dihton*, where the *tt* shows that the *t* was once really doubled in pronunciation; (*d*) finally, after an *r*, *h* was lost and left no trace, as in *Medlar* from *Midelhargh*, and many names which end in *-bergh*, as in *Scaleber*>*Scaleberge*, 1202, in none of which *gh* is pronounced, although often written. O. E. *h* never normally becomes a *k*- sound by isolative change.

§ 15. I pass now to the so-called 'palatals,' better called **Front Consonants**—

In O. E. there were four of these expressed by *c*, *h*, *ȝ*, and *cg*. Thus *ȝ*, *h*, and *c* are ambiguous symbols in O. E., and represent both back and front consonants. The pronunciation in any given case is inferred from the origin of the word, and the other sounds which occur in proximity, as well as from the Mod. pronunciation. For the sake of convenience, it is now usual to distinguish the front from the back sounds by placing a dot over the symbols when they represent the former—*ċ*, *ġ*, *ḣ*.

(1) *ċ* occurs in O. E. only before primitive front vowels:—*ċæster*, 'city,' *ċele* (sub.), 'cold,' *ċēpan*, 'buy,' etc. The sound of *ċ* was in the O. E. period a voiceless *front stop*, that is a *stop* formed with that part of the tongue—the middle—with which English *y*, in *year* is formed. This sound developed early in M. E., into the present 'ch-' sound, and is usually written *ch* by the scribes, from the twelfth century onwards. Medially, this sound was sometimes written *-tch-* from the fourteenth century onwards, though not systematically. It should be observed that during the whole O. E. period, and during the first M. E. period (down to 1150 or thereabouts) this front sound is *never* written *ch*, but only *c*. Thus when we find *ch* written in Doomsday, it always implies a *k*- sound, as in *Chenulueslei*, *Knowsley*, *Achetun*,

Aughton, where first element = O. E. *āc*, if it expresses a stop at all, and *never* the '*ch*-' sound as we now understand it, under any circumstances. In O. E. proper, *ch* always expresses a *k*-sound. On the other hand Doomsday, and other documents contemporary with it, write *c* alone, for this front stop, which later on became the '*ch*-' sound (t∫).

(2) *h*, after and between front vowels, and after front vowels before *t*, *s* represented a *voiceless front open consonant* in O. E. as in *niht*, 'night,' *briht*, 'bright,' *lēh*, 'field.' This sound is written *h*, or sometimes, more rarely, *ch* in M. E. It is usually voiced, and becomes *i*, forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel as in *-lei* > *læh* (cp. p. 23, § 7(8)).

(3) O. E. ȝ was a *voiced front open consonant*. It occurs in O. E. before all original front vowels—*ȝefan*, 'give,' *ȝif*, 'if,' *ȝēār*, *ȝēr*, 'year,' etc.; after front vowels—*weȝ*, 'way,' *mæȝ*, 'maiden,' etc. It is of various origin in O. E., but that need not now concern us. In M. E. it is by many scribes expressed by a modified form, ȝ, of the O. E. ȝ, but by others it is written *g*, and is thus undistinguished from the back stop. None of the printed sources of Lancashire Place Names use the symbol ȝ, but all print *g*, though whether this is due to the scribes or to the ignorance of the editors, I cannot say. As a rule, however, whatever symbol be used, there is no difficulty in knowing where ȝ is the sound implied. Later on, the M. E. scribes write *y* for this sound, or often merely *i*. The early forms of the place name *Maghull* (q. v.) are a good illustration of the use of *g* when, clearly, ȝ is intended. The symbol ȝ was often printed *z* by early printers, and this survives to this day in the spelling of such Scotch words and names as *Mackenzie*, *Capercailzie*, *Dalziel*, *Monzie* = (mənī́), etc. After vowels, this sound usually forms a diphthong in M. E.

(4) O. E. *ċȝ* was the symbol for a *voiced front stop*, which in early M. E. became assibilated to the Mod. '*-dge-sound*' (dž), as in *bridge*. This sound never occurs initially in pure English words, though common in that position in words of French origin, where it is spelt either *g* or *j*, e.g. *gesture*, *joy*. In English words the sound is written in M. E. *g*, *gg*, and later *dg*.

As a result of these remarks, the reader must be prepared to find amongst other surprises, that the spelling *c* in early documents = *ch* (t∫), the spelling *ch* = *k*, the spelling *g* = a stop, an open cons. (back or front), and when back, possibly = *w*, and that the spelling *gh* = a sound like that in Scotch *loch*, and perhaps also (*f*).

COMBINATIVE TREATMENT OF CONSONANTS

The Combination -kt-<ht

§ 16. *k* in this combination underwent a change from a *back stop* to a *back-open consonant*, written *h*. There can be little doubt that this is a new M. E. change, since there is no trace of it either in the earliest forms of many Lancashire Place Names, nor in Place Names of other parts of the country, which appear in genuine documents of the O. E. period, long anterior to the Lancashire sources. It is rather curious, that this, one of the oldest Germanic changes, which was also operative in the earliest O. E. period, should recur in M. E., but the evidence of the forms is, I think, conclusive. The chief cases in our lists are : *Broughton*, O. E. *Brōctūn*, *Houghton*, earlier *Hŏctun* (1241), and *Hŏktun* (1311), *Aughton*, O. E. *āctūn*, *Claughton>Claktūn*. See the evidence for these assumed O. E. forms below in the lists. For *-ought*, *-aught-*. Cp. § 7 (3 and 6).

§ 17. The *-ht-* thus produced appears to have been fronted, in some cases, by the following *-t-*, and in this case the preceding vowel if *a* is diphthongised to *ai*. See § 7 (8) on diphthongisation, etc.

§ 18. If the *h* in *Ahtūn*, etc., was not fronted, and most of the words show double developments in their early forms, if it remained a *back open consonant* it either (*a*) developed *u* between itself and the preceding vowel, thus forming the diphthong *au*, etc. (cp. § 7(3)), or it was lip-modified, or 'labialised,' and subsequently became *f* ; cp. M. E. *afton*, etc., and the Mod. pronunciation (æftn), etc. This development is exactly similar to that of *laughter*=(lāftə), etc., from O. E. *hlahter*, etc.

The spelling *brofte* 'brought,' O. E. *brōhte*, occurs in Laȝamon (MS. Otho, cxiii.) in 1205, and in Cursor Mundi (c. 1320) *þof-queþer=þoh-hweþer* is found. Cp. Morris and Skeat, Specimens of Early Engl., vol. ii. No. vii. l. 69.

Loss of Consonants in Combination

§ 19. (1) (*a*) *þ*, or *th* disappears after *r* when followed by a stop in *Arbury>Erthburgh*, *Norbreck*, cp. *Northbrek*, 1292 to 1378 ; and when followed by an open consonant in *Gascow>Garthscōh*, *Garswood*, earlier *Gartiswood>Garth-* ;

(*b*) after a vowel when followed by a stop in—*Leagram*, earlier *Laythgrim*, *Habergham>Haþbergham* ; *Rawcliff>Routhcliff*.

(2) (*a*) *f* is lost medially before an open onsonant in—*Lowick* >*Lofwik*; *Ulthwaite*, preserved in a 1530 document>*Ulfthwait*;[1] *Inglewhite*>**Ingulfpweit*; (*b*) before a nasal in—*Ulneswalton*> *Ulfneswalton* (1320); (*c*) before a stop in—*Inglebreck*>*Ingulf-*(?)

(3) *d* is lost medially after *l*, when followed by another consonant, in—*Kelbrick*>*Keldbrek*, *Kellet*>*Keldlith*, *Golburn*>*Goldburn*, *Gunnel's Fold*>*Gunnild(i)s-*. [The treatment of *Keldlith* is of an assimilative character. See § 20 below.]

(4) *k* is lost medially before another consonant in—*Kirby*> *Kirkby*, *Kirkdale*, pronounced (kɑ̄tə), *Gawthorpe* >*Gaukþorp*, *Howick*>*Hōkwik* (four forms of from 1096-1256), *Croston* perhaps from **Crōkston*(?). Cp. late spelling *Croxton*.

(5) Other cases of loss of consonants. *t* has disappeared in *Prescot*>*Prestcot*, *Swarbrick*>*Swartbrek* (13th c.), note *Carmel* (1187) by side of *Kertmel* (1187); *d* or *th* in *Warbreck*>*Warthebrek*, *Rawcliff*>*Routhcliff*; *h* in *Almond's*>*Alhmund*, *Ditton*> *Dihton*>*Dictūn* (cp. § 16); *g* in *Ribby*>*Rigbi*; *c* (*k*) in *Cunliffe*>*Cunclif* and *Oxliff* (sixteenth century spelling)>*Oxcliff*; *l* in *Boysnope*>*Boylsnope*; *n* in *Allethwaite*>*Alinthwaite*, *Elliscales*>*Alinscales*.

(6) Loss of *l* with consequences to preceding vowel.

The following names show loss of *l*, the preceding vowel being modified (cp. § 7 (5) *Audley*>*Aldelei*, *Audenshaw*>*Aldenshagh*, *Dauton* (1202)>*Dalton*, which has restored the *l* from the spelling in present-day usage; the same restoration is seen in *Salford*, cp. *Sauford* already 1168-69, and *Salwick*, cp. *Sawick* in seventeenth century; *Chowbent*>*Cholbent*, *Mowbrick* (cp. *Molebrecke*, 1287, *Moulebreke*, 1328); note '*Powton*'=(pūtən) given in 1594 as alternative form for *Pulton*; *Owthwaite*>*Ulfthwaite*, *Knowsley*>*Knulweslei*; *Haughton*>*Halhtūn*.

Assimilation

§ 20. *-ldl-*<*ll* :—*Keldlith*<*Kellith*.
-tht-<*tt* :—*Suthtun*<*Suttun*.
-nb-<*-mb-* :—*Fornbi*<*Formbi*; *Gunber-*<*Gumber*.
-mċ-<*-nċ-*, *Mamchester*<*Manchester*.
-mk-<*-nk-*, *Grimkil-*<*Grinkil-* (later *Gringel-* then Cringel-).
-gm-<*mm-*, *Ammounderness*>*Agmunderness*.
-ngp-<*mp-* :—*Wrangepul*<*Wrampool*.
-kl-<*-tl-* :—*Astley*>*Askley*>*Askillæh*, *Artlebeck*>*Arklebek*> *Arnkilbek*, *Hatlex*>*Haklaks*.

[1] For subsequent history of *Ulthwaite* see § 8 (2). It is possible the names with *Ingle-* may be from *Ingild-*; see under these names below.

Voicing before a following Voiced Consonant

§ 21. *Sabden*>*Sapdene*, *Aigburth*>*Aikberth*, *Gringle-*>*Grinkle-*, *Ogden*>*Okden*, (*krozbi*)>*Krosbi*.

OTHER CHANGES IN CONSONANTS OF A SPORADIC OCCURRENCE

Unvoicing of Initial G

§ 22. This has taken place in the following names:—*Cumeralgh*; the first element of this is *Gunber-*; *Conder* > *Gondouere*; *Cringlebarrow* > *Grimkil-*; *Cunliffe* > *Gundecliff*; *Cunscough*>*Gunni-*.

T for Th (þ) initially

§ 23. *Tarlescough*, cp. *Tharlescogh*, 1189; *Tarleton*>*þorold-þarold-*; *Torrisholme*, *Toroldesham* already in 1200; but cp. *Thoroldesholm* in 1206. The *Th-* forms predominate in this name, but *T-* occurs also in thirteenth and fourteenth century; *Torver*, cp. *Thorwerghe*, 1202; L. A. R. in 1246 has both *T-* and *Th-*; *Turton*=*Thorkiltun* (?). Side by side with *Thurstainewater*, 1196, *Turstini watra* occurs 1154-63, though the present-day form has *Th-*; present-day *Thingwall* appears with *Ting-* in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by the side of *Th-*. I leave the Doomsday spellings with *T-* for *Th-* out of account, as these are the spellings of foreigners. From the above facts it appears that from the twelfth century at any rate, there were two pronunciations of these names in existence. Modern usage sometimes perpetuates *T-*, sometimes *Th-* in the spelling.

Metathesis

§ 24. The precise chronology of this process is uncertain. It certainly took place at an early period in O. E., though later than the process known as *Fracture*, since we find O. E. *grǣs*, side by side with *gǣrs*, but no **gears*, etc. It is probable that there was an earlier process of metathesis than this in some dialects, and it is pretty certain that there was a later one.

r- metathesis is the commonest form, though there is also a process whereby *-sc* becomes *-cs* (written *x*), and pronounced (*ks*). Examples:—*Brunne* by the side of *Burne* (*Bourne*), *Bronley* (=brunlei) by the side of *Burnlei* (Burnley).

Interchange of *-sċ-* and *-cs-* (*x*).

Fixwic=**Fics-* **Fiks-* by the side of *Fiscwic* (*Fishwick*).

Interchange of *x* and *sc*. *Foschowes* for *Fox-*.

§ 25. Loss of Initial Consonants in Unstressed Syllables

h at the beginning of an unstressed syllable of a compound is always lost in the natural course of development. It may still be written through the influence of earlier documents, or it may be restored in the spelling through the influence of the independent word. The spelling may affect the pronunciation, but this is artificial, and does not represent a genuine phonetic retention. In Place Names if the official spelling happens to preserve *h*, in the second element, some speakers may make an effort to pronounce it, but in cases where the mod. spelling gives no indication of its original presence, the sound is gone for ever.

The commonest case is perhaps that of the suffix *-ham*, as in *Birmingham*, etc., where even the most grotesquely 'careful' speaker would hardly venture to pronounce the aspirate.

In the following examples, the received modern spelling has lost the *h* :—*Aspull*>*Asphul* (-hill), *Bootle*>*Bot-hyll*, *Coppul*, >*Copphul*, *Ballam*>*Balholm*, *Chisnall*>*Chesynhale* (1385), *Clitheroe* > *Cliderhou*, *Cowpe* > *Cū-hop*, *Medlar* > *Midelhargh*, *Goosnargh*>*Gosanharh*, *Grimsargh*>*Grimesharh*, *Balders*tone >*Baldheres-*, etc., etc.

§ 26. Loss of Initial w- in the unstressed Element of Compounds

The remarks above upon the loss of *h-* apply also to *w* under similar conditions. Examples where even the spelling omits it are :—*Aspinall*>*Aspenwell*, *-wall*, *Adlington*>*Æðelwin-*, *Irlam* >*Irwelham*, *Holleth*>*Holoweth* (this is a late form—1586—but it is almost certainly genuine, that is based on an earlier document, and points to *Holh-við*(*r*), 'hollow wood.'

There are, of course, dozens of other names in which *w* is lost, although still written—*Borwick*, *Glodwick* (all the forms from 1216 to 1510 have *Glothiche*, etc.) ; (tʃildwəl) is probably the received pronunciation of *Childwall*, but the local pronunciation is the more 'correct' (tʃildə).

Unvoicing of Final Consonants

§ 27. *Breightmet* > *Brihtmēd*, *Whasshet* > *Hwassheved*. (Just over the Westm. border.)

§ 28. Developments of -ing- in Place Names

Professor Moorman in his Place Names of the W. Riding of Yorkshire, pp. lx-lxii, has an elaborate treatment of the various origins of the syllable *-ing-* in Place Names, which I recommend to the attention of all students of this subject.

The only point I wish to deal with here is the development of *-ing-* out of an earlier *-en-* or *-in-*, which may itself have various origins.

(*a*) The commonest perhaps is O. E. *-an*, M. E. *-en* the gen. of a weak noun, usually a personal name. Examples are :— *Addington* from **Addantun*, *Dumplington* from **Dumelantun*, *Pilkington* from **Pilecantun*, *Tottington* from *Tottantun*, etc., etc.

(*b*) The O. E. adjectival suffix *-en* :—*Haslingden* from **Hæslen den*, *Withington* from **Wiðen tun*, *Hollingworth* from **Holen(a) wurþ*.

(*c*) O. E. suffix *-wine* :—*Adlington* from **Æðelwines tun*, *Æðelwinton*, *Æðlinton*, etc.

I do not regard this as a phonetic change in the ordinary sense. The gen. *-n-* suffix is sometimes retained as such in M. E. forms of names, e.g. *Wagneia*, 1127, etc., from **Wagan eȝ.*, Mod. *Walney* (q. v. below). In other cases it is lost altogether, e.g. *Padiham* (1296), from **Paddan ham*, and in (pinitn) the popular form of the Family N. *Pinnington*. It is curious that *Padingham* should occur in 1294, and again as late as 1305, showing that in the same name two types can exist side by side. No such form as *Padin-* or *Paden-ham* has been found of this name, though *Padintone* (Staffs.) is found in Doomsday. On the other hand the name *Pilkington* has all three forms—*Pilkynton* (1190 and down to 1431), *Pilketon* (1292), and *Pilkington* at the present day, though I have only one case of the last in the M. E. period.

The *-ing-* forms must be due to some analogy, either that of the patronymic *-ing-*, or that of *ing* in the sense of ' field.' This whole question deserves a special investigation, as does likewise the disappearance or retention of the gen. *-s* of personal names which occur as the first elements in Place Names. (See further examples of (*a*) and (*c*) in Skeat's Beds. Pl. Names, pp. 59, 60.)

§ 29. The Disappearance or Retention of -s in the first element of Place Names

Why is it that in some cases a strong personal name when it occurs as the first element of a Place Name loses the gen. suffix, certainly as early as the twelfth century, while in others, this suffix is preserved down to the present day ?

No one has yet formulated any satisfactory principle which governs these cases. I hope this question will be make the subject of an inquiry in the near future, but for the moment it is desirable to say a few words on the subject.

From a long acquaintance with the early forms of Place Names I think the following negative principles are correct.

(1) A personal name in the circumstances under consideration may exchange a strong gen. suffix for a weak one, any time after the beginning of the twelfth century, perhaps earlier. The fate of the new weak suffix is various, as described in § 28. A weak gen. suffix may also be exchanged for one with *-s*.

(2) No inference can be drawn, in the sense that a given first element is *not* a personal name, from the fact that it has no *-s-* in twelfth-century forms, even though we might expect that such a personal name would take this suffix in the gen. case.

(3) The existence of a gen. *-s* suffix in early forms does not prove beyond doubt that the first element *is* a personal name, e.g. in such a prefix as *Hafoces-*.

(4) (*a*) The absence of *-s* from the ending of the first element is in many cases due to the substitution of a weak for a strong noun in the suffix, and the subsequent loss of the nasal. (*b*) In others the loss implies that the separate identity of the first element is lost—that the word has, in fact, become a true compound, in which complete isolation of the first element, from the independent word, in form, or meaning, or in both, has taken place.

Quite apart from the combinative sound changes which alter the form of the first element of a compound, this isolation is natural in the case of a personal name which has become obsolete, and has faded from recollection. If a name were of rare occurrence, this might happen very early. A name like *Leofhere*, for instance, which was the first element in *Liverpool*, was never common at any period. Of course, if the second element retains its significance as does *pul* or *pōl*, 'pool,' the first element is felt as qualifying it in some way, and this at once becomes liable to alteration by an attempt to make it mean something. In such cases, the popular mind often seeks to explain the unintelligible element by connecting it with some other familiar word, which the sound of the former may distantly suggest.

PART I

LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

WITH THE OLDER FORMS, AND A DISCUSSION CONCERNING THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Spellings enclosed in [ ] placed after a heading represent the Modern local pronunciation of the name.

A

Abram

1190-99. Adburgham : Cockrsnd Ch., pp. 660-1 (passim to 1245, p. 665).
1212. Edburgham : Gt. Inq. L. Inq., p. 77.
1246. Adburgham : L. F., i. p. 98.
1303. Adburgham : L. F., i. p. 200.
1322. Adburgham : L. F., ii. p. 46.
1372. Abraham : L. F., ii. p. 183.
1405. Abburgham : L. F., iii. p. 67.
1481. Abraham : L. F., iii. p. 139.

The early forms point unmistakably to an O. E. *Eadburg hām* —the 'home' or 'dwelling' of *Eadburg*. The development of the name has probably been partly normal, and then after a certain point has been altered in popular speech through the fancied connection with the name *Abraham*. (See *ham* in Pt. II.)

This O. E. woman's name is found also in D. B. in the Essex pl. n. *Edburgetun*, 46*b*, 73*b*, also spelt *Edburghetun*, 28, further *Adburgetun* in Cal. of Inq. Hen. III., p. 21, No. 92. The Oxfordshire *Adderbury* contains this name. Mr. Alexander refers me to the form *Edburgberie*, D. B., l. 154*b*, and *Eadburbiry* Eynsham Ch., 1. p. 5, 1239.

A curious parallel development is that of *Babraham*, D. B. *Badburgham*. See Skeat, Cambs. Pl. Names, p. 19. This form also occurs in J. of Gaunt's Reg., pp. 23, 67, etc.

Accrington

1258. Akerynton : L. A. R., p. 121.
1277. Acrinton : L. F., i. p. 153.
1294. Akeringtone : De. Lac. Comp., pp. 1, 2.
1311. Akrinton : Cal. Ch. R., 315.

Addington (Carnforth)

1311. Addington : De Lac. Inq., 22.

The *tūn* of *Adda*. O. E. Gen., *Addan-* becomes simply *Adding-*

in compounds. (See *tūn*.) See examples of Pers. N. *Adda* in Searle. For change of *Addan-* to Adding- cp. p. 35, § 28 above.

Adgarley

1212. Adgareslith: Gt. Inq. L. Inq., p. 83, also Testa de Nevil, 406*b*.
1246. Adkerlith: L. A. R., p. 100.
? 1288-90. { Adegarlith: Furness Ch., p. 515. / Adgerlith: Furness Ch., pp. 515-17.
1372. Adgersley: J. of Gaunt's Reg., i. p. 280.
1616. Adgarley, Joh. Bancke of: Rich. Wills, p. 16.
1670. Agarley, Thos. Ashburner of: Rich. Wills, p. 8.
1672. Adgarlicke, Thos. Banckes of: Rich. Wills, p. 17.

(The form Eadgarlithe occurs in a copy of an earlier Ch. made 1412. Furn. Ch., p. 73.)

There are, according to this Index, altogether five forms of this name in *-lith* in the Furness Ch.

The early forms make it clear that the original name was *Eadgareshlið*, 'Edgar's slope, hill.' The modern name shows a substitution of a different element, O. E. *lēah*, *lǣh*, 'field,' for the older and less familiar suffix. It is possible that the actual pronunciation of *-hlið*, became simply *-li*, in this unstressed position, in which case we have a mere change of spelling, and the natural identification of the second element with a well-known ending of place names. See O. E. *hlið*, and *lēah* in Pt. II. *Agardsley* (Staffs.) has the same origin as above name as regards the first element. D. B. has *Edgarislege*. Cp. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.

Adlington

1184-1190. Edeluinton: Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 510.
1202. { Walter de Aldeventon: / Adelventon: } L. F., i. p. 18.
1246. Adelinton: L. A. R., p. 55; also Athelington, cp. Index, but where in text?
1254. Adelinton: L. Inq., p. 193.
1286. Edlington: L. Inq., p. 265.
1294. / 1306. } Adelingtone: { De Lac. Comp., 10. / De Lac. Comp., 97.
1322. Adelyngton: L. F., ii. p. 48.
1431. Adelynton: Feudal Aids, iii. p. 92.

The first and second forms seem to point to an original *Æðelwines tūn* 'the tūn of Æðelwine.' *Aldeventun* is probably a mere

scribal error for *Adelwentun*, though it may arise from confusing the first element with *Aldwine*, cp. sub *Audenshaw*. M. E. *Adelwentun* normally becomes *Adelintun*, *w* being lost in unstressed syllables. *-in-* whatever its origin, when it occurs in the middle of place names, usually becomes *-ing-*, on the analogy of numerous names containing *-ing-*. (Cp. p. 35 above.) See *tūn* in Pt. II. *Æðelwines gemæru* is found C. D., iii. p. 321 in a Ch. of 1001 (written *imare* here). For other Lancs. pl. n. which probably contain *Æðelwine*, cp. *Allethwaite* and *Elliscales* below.

I note that *Adlington* in Chesh. has the same origin. Cp. *Adelvinton*, Cal of Inq. Hen. III., p. 31, No. 27.

Aigburth

1190-1206.
1212-1240.
1232-56. } Aykeberh : { Ckrsnd. Ch., { p. 554.
p. 556.
p. 556 (ibid.).

1190-1220. de Aikeberhe : Ckrsnd. Ch., p. 560.

1329. Aikebergh : Whal. Ch., T. v. xlviii. p. 265.

The first element, if it be not a pers. n. must be O. N. *eik*, 'oak.' (It cannot represent O. E. *āc* as Harrison says.) The voicing of *k* to *g* before a following voiced consonant (*b*) is natural. The Egl. prefix—*āc-* may have been used as well as the Norse, but the above forms, and the Mod. name are from the Norse. The second element was originally, evidently O. E. *beorh*, 'hill' or 'barrow.' The change of this to the Mod. *-burth* is not due to phonetic development, but is either (1) due to confusion of the two elements *-beorh* and *wurþ*, a compromise between them; or (2), though this is much less likely, to the substitution for the former, of the rare suffix *-beorþ*, on which see my remarks in Pt. II. below. The agreement of the early spellings seem to make it certain that *-beorh* and not *-beorþ* was the original ending. The meaning of *Eikebeorh* would be the 'hill, or barrow of the oaks.' See under *Āc*, and *beorh* in Pt. II. Compare also the early forms of *Bilsburgh* below for interchange of *wurþ* and *burg*.

Aighton

1102. Aiton : Ch. II., xv., L. P. R., p. 385.

1208. Acton : L. F., i. p. 34.

1235. Hacton : L. F., i. p. 60.

1292.
1312. } Aghton : { Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
L. F., ii. p. 10.

1346. ——— : Wap. Sur.[3], p. 62.

1586. Aighton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 53.

I am inclined to assume an O. E. *āc tūn*, 'oak town,' and a

development *āctūn*<*ăktūn*<*ăhtŭn*. The last form is capable of several treatments. It might (*a*) develop into *ăftun*, which would give Mod. (*a*ftn), or (*b*) *a* before *-ht* might be diphthongised to *auhtūn*, which would become Mod. (ɔ̄tn), probably spelt *Aughton* (cp. the pedigree of Aughton below) ; or (*c*) *ahtun*, by a fronting of *h* before *t* might develop a diphthongised form with *ai—aihtun* or *aitun*. This is what actually happened as the first form above, of 1102 shows. M. E. *aitun* would develop into Mod. (ētn) or (eitn). The remaining three forms above, all represent the same type (*a*htun), the *c* spelling being probably traditional. This type is represented in development (*b*) above. For change of *āctun* to *āh tun*, cp. *brōc tun*<*Broughton* and remarks under *brōc* in Pt. II., and at p. 32, § 16 above. It is possible that the old forms spelt *Ai-* and the Mod. form may be from O. N. *Eik* 'oak,' the others from the O. E. word.

Ainsdale

1086. Einuluesdel : D. B., i. a. 35.
1199-1200. (de) Annovesdala : L. P. R., 46. p. 116.
1190-1206. Aynuluisdale Ckrsnd. Ch., p. 568 and passim, to 1279, p. 594.
1201-02. Ainolvesdale : L. P. R., 48, p. 149.
1206-07. Einouesdal : L. P. R., 53, p. 216.
1220-40. *Aynoluesdale, Adam de : (Kuerden. H. P. Meols., p. 10, note).
1268-79. } Aynuldale : { L. P. R., Ch. v., xx. p. 433. / Ckrsnd. Ch., p. 594.
1309. Aynolfisdale : R. de (twice), Chorley Documents, Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh, 1889, p. 215.
1324. { Aynoluesdale : / Aynolesdale : } L. C. R. { p. 81. / p. 127.
1329. Aynoldesdale : Whall. Ch., T. v. xliii. p. 265.

This name represents O. E. *Eginulfesdæl*, 'the dale of Einulf,' M. E. *Einulfesdel* (cp. from fr. D. B.). As *Eginulf* or *Einulf* is a Norse name, it is probable that the second element is also from Norse *-dal*, and not from the O. E. equivalent *dæl*, but either form might produce M. E. *dāle* in the dat., etc.

For this shortening of the pers. n., cp. *Eynesbury* (Hants.), which in D. B. is Einulvesberie ; and for a quite different treatment of it in a pl. n., cp. Yorks. *Armthorpe*, D. B. *Einuluestorp* and *Ernulues-*. (cp. Index of K.'s Inq.). The name Æinulf occurs in Ch. No. 1257, Birch, iii. 541 (see Skeat, Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 322), and in the form Æignulf in a Manumission (Thorpe's Diplomatar., p. 638). Cp. also next name.

Ainsworth

1190-1216. Haineswrthe : Ckrsnd Ch., p. 733.
1244. Ainesworth : L. A. R., p. 175.
1284. de Haynesworth : } L. A. R., p. 181.
1285. de Aynesworth : } L. A. R., p. 206.
1292. Aynesworth : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.

The first element of this name was probably *Eginulf*, M. E. *Einulf*, of which the first syllable *Ein-* was used as a familiar name. The place seems to have been named from this shorter form, otherwise we should find **Ainuluesworth* (cp. preceding word). For second element see *-wurþ* below. See early forms of and remarks under *Ainsdale* above, and under *Aintree*.

Aintree

1244. } Eyntre : { Whall. Ch., T. II. xxvi. p. 58.
1292. } { Origial. R., 73. b.
1296. Ayntre : L. F., i. 179 and 180.
1332. — : L. F., ii. p. 82.

Harrison remarks, 'There seems no reason to doubt that *Aintree* (A.-S. *an-trēōw*) means simply "one tree."' The one reason which makes this not only doubtful, but quite impossible, is that O. E. *ā* never by any chance becomes (*ē*), spelt *ai*, as far south as Lancashire. Whatever the first element may be, it is absolutely certain that it has nothing to do with O. E. *ān*. If the name indeed mean 'one tree,' which is not a very convincing suggestion, then it must be derived from O. N. *einn*, 'one.' The hundreds of charters in Codex Diplomaticus contain no name beginning with *ān-*. It is more probable that *Ayn-* in this name is a pers. n. in its shortened form. Cp. O. E. *Egnesham*, now Eynsham (pron. enʃəm), Oxon. Besides *Aginulf* (cp. Meyer, Spr. d. Lombarden), O. E. *Egnulf*, there are other Gmc. names in *Agin-*, e.g. O. H. G. *Eginhart*. As it stands, the name is simply 'Ain's tree.' Cp. early forms of *Ainsdale* and remarks thereunder, also *Ainsworth*.

Aldcliff [ɔklif]

1094. Audecliuia : Ch. I. II., L. R. R., p. 289. (Date genuine ?)
? 13th c. Aldeclyve : Lanc. Ch., p. 37.
Early 14th c. Aldeclyf : Lanc. Ch., p. 458.
2nd half 14th c. Aldecliffe : Furn. Ch., p. 225.
1496. Aldcliff : L. F., III. i. p. 46.

Apparently simply 'old cliff.' The Mod. form with *ald-* instead of *-old-* is due to shortening of *ā* in O. E. *āld-* before the combination of cons. in the compound *-ldcl-*. For this to have occurred we must assume an uninflected form of first element—O. E. *āldclif*. The form above of 1090 shows diphthonging of *-al-* to *au* and disappearance of *l*. This form, though natural at a later period, is hardly possible at so early a date, except as an Anglo-Norm. pronunciation. The ch. may be a late copy. The local pronunciation rather presupposes an early Mod. form *audclif*. The spelling is traditional.

Alderbarrow (Nelson)

1184-1210. Alrebarwe: Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 731, 'aldertree barrow.' Cp. *allor*, and *beorg*, Pt. II.

Aldingham

1277. Aldingham: L. A. R., p. 144.
1290. Aldyngham: L. F., i. p. 165.
1286., 1292., 1346. Aldingham: Furn. Ch., 134. Plac. Q. Warr., 370*b*. Wap. Sur.[3], 74.

Probably the '*hām* of Ealda'=O. E. **Ealdanham*. This pers. n. is recorded by Searle, and may be regarded either as a nick-name, meaning 'the old one,' or as a contraction of such a name as *Ealdhelm*, etc.

Alkincoats

1200-01. Altenecote, W. de (twice): L. P. R., 47, p. 134.
1202-03. Altancotes: L. P. R., 49. p. 169.
1203-04. Altenecotes: L. P. R., 50, p. 178.
1294., 1296. Alcancotes: De Lac. Comp., p. 4. Whal. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 206.
1302. Altancotes: L. Inq. p. 319.
1324-25. Alcencotes: L. C. R., p. 33.
1343. Alcancotes: Cal. Rotl. Pat., p. 144.

I think we must conclude from the evidence that the *Alten-* forms are the more primitive. The first element looks like the gen. sing. of a per. n. *Alta*, which Searle mentions as occurring in several documents. For the second element, see *cot*, 'dwelling,' etc., in Pt. II.

The change from *Alten-* to *Alcen-* is curious. Were it not for the Mod. form, one might regard the *Alcan- Alcen-* forms above as due to misreadings of *c* for *t* on the part of the editors.

Alkington

1311. Alkrington : De Lac Inq., 19.
1313. Alkeryngton : L. F., ii. p. 16.

The *tūn* of *Ealhhere*. The *-ing*, as it so commonly does, represents an old weak gen. in *-an*, M. E. *-en*.

The pers. n. *Ealhhere* is well established in O. E.

Allerton

1086. Alretune : D. B., l. *a*24.
1209. } Alreton : { L. F., i. p. 36.
1309. } { Whal. C. B., Tit. v. xliii. p. 268.
1292. } Allerton : { Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1320-46. } { Wap. Sur.[3], 42.

The ' tūn or enclosure of the alders,' O. E. *allra tūn* (gen. pl. of first element). See *alor*.

Allethwaite in Cartmell

1237. Alithweit : L. A. R., p. 25.
1277. Alythwayt : L. A. R., p. 144.
1327. Alithwait : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 108.
1332. Alyntwait : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 101.
1334. Alinthwayt : L. F., ii. p. 93.
1596. Allithwhat : } Punder of : } Rich. Wills, p. 223.
1620. Alleswhet : }
1661. Allithwait, Joh. Barrow of : Rich. Wills, p. 21.

The form *Alinthwayt*, though comparatively late, is the most primitive, and points to O. E. *Ælfwines þweit*=' the portion of Ælfwine.' See *þweit* in Pt. II. *Ælfwine* is a well-known O. E. pers. n. It occurs in a boundary—*Ælfwines imāre* in a ch. of 1001, C. D., iii. p. 321, and also in same ch., p. 320, *Ælfwines hlipġeat*.

Since writing the above, I have come to the conclusion that *Æðelwine* is more probable as the base of the first element. I leave the above suggestion, however, because the M. E. forms are not absolutely conclusive. If *Ælfwine* be the basis of first element, we must assume such a development as *Ælfwine—Æl(f)win(e)-—Alin-*. See discussion of *Æðelwine* under *Allithwaite* above, under *Elliscales* below, also M. E. forms at latter entry, of a name which undoubtedly did contain *Ælfwine*.

Almond's (Bilsb.)
Almond's Fold (Clitheroe)

These names doubtless preserve the O. E. pers. n. *Ealhmund*,

Alhmund. The name *Almanbury* occurs in Nomina Villarum, Kirkby's Inq., p. 351. This is the Mod. Yorks. *Almondbury*. An earlier form occurs in Furn. Ch.—Wil de *Alkmundbury*, where *k* is probably written for *h*. The pers. n. occurs in Northumb. Genealogies, 22, O. E. T., in the form *Alchmund*. Nearly forty persons of the name (*Ealhmund*), etc., are enumerated by Searle, pp. 204-6.

***Alnor**

1202. Alnor ('the stream that runs between A. and Tunstall') : L. F., i. p. 15.

Alston

1247. Alleston : / Alsston : / Alneston : } L. A. R., pp. 95, 87, 115.
1313. Alston : L. F., ii. p. 14.
1373. Alston : L. F., ii. p. 187.

'The tūn of Alla.

Altcar [ækər, ōlkə]

1251. / 1292. Altekar : { L. F. i. p. 113. / Plac. Q. Warr., 383.
1293. Aldekar : Plac. Abbrev., p. 289.

I cannot explain the first element *Alt-*, unless it be the same pers. n. which appears in the early forms of *Alkincoats* (q. v.). The 1293 form may be due to a popular identification of the first element with O. E. *eald*, *ald*, 'old.' The second element is apparently O. N. *Kjarr*, 'copse wood' (q. v., Pt. II.).

Altham

1247. Halvetham : / Eluetham : / Aluetham : } L. A. R., pp. 24, 92.
1256. Alvetham : L. F., i. p. 129.
1308. Aluetham : L. F., ii. p. 1.
1346. Alvetham : Feudal Aids, iii. p. 88.
1380. Aluetham : L. F., iii. p. 10 ; also Whal. Ch. of same period. Cp. pp. 202, 273, 290, etc.
1505. Altham : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 4.

'The homestead of Ælfġeat.' The O. E. pers. n. *Ælfġeat* is recorded as occurring in a considerable number of documents (cp. Searle). D. B. has the form *Aluet* as the name of a person holding lands in Wilts. in the time of the Confessor, and the form *Aluiet* occurs many times as the name of persons holding

land at this period. Cp. Ellis, Introd., ii. One of these held land in Cambridgeshire, and is perhaps the man who gave his name to *Eltisley* in that county, though Skeat cannot suggest what pers. n. is there contained. Cp. Cambs. Pl. Names, p. 63.

Altmarsh

1329. Altemersh : Whal Ch., v. xlii. p. 253.

? 'The marsh of *Alta*' ? See *Alkincoats* and *Altcar* above.

Alvedene ? (Cowpe.)

1294.
1305. } Alvedene : De Lac. Comp., 5, 78.

This is probably the 'dean' of Ælfheah, a well-known O. E. pers. n. The M. E. form of this name was *Alvezze* ; it is found in D. B. in *Elueggescot*, Mod. *Alvescot*, Oxon. It was Latinised to *Alfeggius*, whence the artifical Mod. form *Alphege*. If there had been a thirteenth century form *eluedene*, we might have postulated O. E. *ielfa* as the first element, and interpreted the name as 'the valley of the elves.' I fear such an etymology can hardly be justified from the scanty material.

Amonderness

(1) 930. Agemundernes : C. D., ii. p. 169.
(2) 1086. Agemvndrenesse : D. B., 301*b*.
(3) 1094. In Agmundernesia : Ch. r. ii., L. P. R., p. 290 (Date genuine ?)
(4) (!) Magnum Dernesia : Gt. Coucher Bk., vol. i. fol. 129. Quoted L. P. R., p. 291.
(5) 1177. Almundernesse : L. P. R., 24, p. 38.
(6) 1196. Amunderness : L. F., i. p. 2.
(7) 1246-48. Aumondernesse : L. Inq., p. 170.
(8) 1283. Ammundernesse : L. F., i. p. 160.
(9) 13th c. Aundrenesse : Lanc. Ch., 145.
(10) 1389. Amondernesse : Whal. Ch., T. III. liii. p. 201.

The word is apparently 'the ness of Agmund.' This is an O. N. pers. n. The *r* here is the ordinary O. N. gen. suffix. *Agmodesham* (with the O. E. gen. suffix -es) for *Agmunderham* (Berks.) is found in a charter of King Edward of 1066 (C. D., iv. p. 178). The forms 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, and 10 are all one type. 5 is probably due to a scribal identification of the first element with the pers. n. *Alhmund*. 9 represents a contracted form *Anderness*, with diphthonging of *a* before *n*, implying slight nasalisation. No. 4 looks very

like a kind of monkish pun. Besides the anagram of the first element, we have *-dernesia* treated as a separate word. This may perhaps represent a Latinised form of O. E. '*derne*, 'secret,' 'mysterious.' So that Magn*um* Dernes*ia* (!) might be intended for 'the great mysterious region'—'the great Unknown'!

Ancoats

Before 1200. Einecote: L. I., i. p. 56.
1242-43. Hanekotes: L. I., i. p. 153.
1502. Ancotes: L. F., iii. p. 152.

Perhaps the '*cots*' or collection of dwellings—village—of *Ani* (O. N.). Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 7) cites *Ani* as a pers. n. known in all the Scandinavian countries, and mentions, as derived from it, such pl. n. as *Aanevig*, *Aanebör*, *Aanestad*, etc.

On the other hand, the spelling *Eine-* rather suggests a short form of some name in *Æġen-*. Cp. *Ainsdale*, *Aintree* above.

Note the following variants of a pl. n. very similar to the above: Thomas de Amcotes, 1371, Thomas Amcotes, 1372, J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii. pp. 8, 13, etc.; further, Ampcotes (T. de), ibid. p. 92, 1372.

Anderton

1296. Anderton: Original. R., 97*b*.
1300. Anderton: Original. R., 114.
1341. Andiston: Pr. Pen., 23.

Perhaps the *tūn* of *Andrew*, but the first element may equally well be the Scandinavian pers. n. *Andres*, or *Andörr*. Both of these forms according to Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., pp. 6, 7, 13, 14) are derived from an earlier *Arnþörr*, which became first *Arndörr* and then *Andörr*. From the former Rygh gives, though doubtfully, the pl. n. *Andersrod*, etc., and from the latter *Andoorsőle*, *Andersgaard*, *Andersland*, etc. Even if this be the origin of the name, it would almost inevitably be confused later with the saint's name, *Andrew*. On this name, cp. Bardsley, pp. 52, 53. The form *Anderewe* is quoted as early as 1379, while *Andreu*, *Andre* occur in 1273. If *Anderton* had originally contained the name of the saint in the first element, it would more likely have been **Andreueton* at the date of our earliest reference above. Cp. *Andreweson* 1379, the earliest form of Anderson cited by Bardsley, loc. cit. On the whole I consider *Arnþörr* the more probable origin of our *Ander-*.

Angerby

Angoreby : } Testa de Nevill, { 409.
Angortby : } { 407*b*.

The ' by ' or ' dwelling of *Arngeirr*.' On this O. N. pers. n. and its occurrence in England, cf. Björkman, O. N. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 7. See also *bȳr* in Pt. II.

Angerton Moss (B. in F.)

1337. Angercommose : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 171.

The first element is O. N. pers. n. *Arngeirr*. See preceding name. It looks as if the editor of the Calendar cited above had misread *c* for *t*, an easy mistake to make, as *c* and *t* are written almost identically in fourteenth century MSS. See the elements *tūn* and *Moss* in Pt. II. The fourteenth century form above quoted may record the assimilation of *nm* to *mm*.

Angerton

1299. Angerton : L. Inq., i. p. 302.

The ' tūn of *Arngeirr*.' See preceding names.

Anglezark or **Anlesargh**

(1) 1202. Andelevesarewe : L. F., i. p. 11.
(2) 1212. *Milafosharh=Anlafosharh : Gt. Inq. L. Inq., p. 58.
(3) 1224. Anlauesargh : L. F., i. p. 45.
(4) 1247. Anlawesarwe : } L. A. R., pp. 74, 243.
(5) 1268. Anlauesarewe : }
(6) 1292. Analeshargh : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
(7) 1374. Aynsargh, R. de : J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii. p. 256.
(8) 1376. Anlasargh : L. F., ii. p. 190.
(9) 1380. Aynesargh : L. F., iii. p. 9.

No. 3 is the most primitive form, and leaves no doubt that the name is from O. E. *Anlāfeshœrh*, ' the temple, or high place of *Anlāf*.' The modern spelling is quite artificial, and the pronunciation which is based upon it still more so. The natural Mod. form would be (*ændlzə*). Nos. 1, 4, 5 show the oblique case in the second element, as in the pl. n. *Harrow* ; 3, 6, 7, 8 are from the nom. The *-k-* in the Mod. spelling is perhaps due to a misreading of *-h*. Phonetically the *k* is an impossible development. No. 2 shows a bad scribal error in the first element, but cp. *Milafesharh*, T. de N., 104*b*. See *hearh, hœrh* in Pt. II. The above forms are definitely English and not O. N. The O. N.

form of the personal name is *Ōleifr*, whence later *Olāf*. For this O. N. pers. n. and pl. ns. derived from it, cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. Ns., pp. 189, 190. *Anlāfestūn* occurs in a Charter dated by Kemble 'about 970' (C. D., vi. p. 102).

Angram Green (Burnley)

1332. Angrum, Adam de : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 77.

Does this name represent *Arngeir's hom* or *ham* ('the field of A') ? For this pers. n., cp. *Angerby, Angerton* above, and for the proposed second element cp. the early forms of the second syllable of *Oldham*, and *hamm* in Pt. II.

Antley Gill

1305. Antelay : De Lac. Comp., 90, 108.

Appleton (near Prescot)

1251. Apelton : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 357.
1296. Apeltone : De. Lac. Comp., 49.
1323. Apelton : L. F., ii. p. 50.
1320-46. Appolton : Wap. Sur.[1], 38.

The *tūn* of the apple trees. See *æppel* and *tūn* in Pt. II.

Appletree

1335. Appeltre : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 239.

Appletreehead

1301. Apeltreheued : L. Inq., p. 307.

The peak of the apple trees. See *hēafod* in Pt. II.

Appletreethwaite

1260. Appletruethewayt : L. Inq., p. 223.
1272. Appultrethwayte : Lanc. Ch., p. 169.

The place, or division of the apple trees. See *þveit* in Pt. II. Cp. *Appletreewick* in Yorks.

Arbury (Winwick)

1246. Erthburgh : L. F., i. p. 105.
1332. Erbury : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 72.
1503. Erbury : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 11.
1512. Erbur : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 10.
1569. Arberye : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 11.

The first element is apparently O. E. *erþ*, 'ploughed land' (q. v. Pt. II.). The second is the common *burg* (q. v.).

Ardwick

1282. Atheriswyke : L. Inq., i. p. 245.
1502. Ardewyk : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 14.

The first element in some pers. n. in *Æðel-*. The interchange of *l* and *r* is regarded by Zachrisson as due to Anglo-Norman influence (A.-N. Influence on English Place Names, p. 142). Z. notes the Somersetshire *Atherstone* (earlier *Athel-*), in which a change similar to that in *Atheriswyke* above has taken place (*loc. cit.* p. 111). It must, however, be remembered that *Æðelred*, appear as *Æðerred* by assimilation in O. E. itself. For the second element, see O. E. *wīc* in Pt. II. below.

***Argarmeols** (Birkdale)

1213-19. Argeremelis : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 583.
1249. Argarmil : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 6, No. 36.

The first element appears to be an English form of the O. N. pers. n. *Arngeirr*. Cp. *Angerby, Anglston* above. The second element is perhaps O. N. *melr*, 'sandhill' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Arkholme [ærəm.]

Type I.

1086. Ergune : D. B., 301*b*.
1227. Argun : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 60.
1229. Argun : L. F., i. p. 56.
1279. Ergum : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 221.
1319. Erghum : L. F., ii. p. 32.
1372. Erghom, R. de : J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii. p. 33.
1437. Arrome : } Duc. Lanc., i. { p. 24.
1501. Argham : } { p. 11.
1508-09. Ergholme : } { p. 12.
1529. Erholme : } { p. 28.
1586. Arham, P. Barker of : Rich. Wills, p. 19.
1616. Argholme, J. Astwick of : Rich. Wills, p. 9.
1634. Arholm, Will. Ewan of : Rich. Wills, p. 103.
1689-1702. Arholme.: Duc Lanc., i. p. 38.

Type II.

1662. Arckholme, A. Barker of : Rich. Wills, p. 18.
1663. Archolme, J. Astwick of : Rich. Wills p. 9.

The first element is perhaps *earh*, 'arrow,' referring to the shape of the land.

The second element in the Mod. name is O. N. *holmr* (q. v. in Pt. II.), ' a portion of land cut off by some boundary.' The early spellings do not suggest this as original, however. They rather point to O. E. *homm* (q. v. Pt. II.). The popular pronunciation is what we should expect either O. E. **earhholm(r)* or **earhhamm* to develop into. The Mod. spelling is an absurdity, and must be an attempt to explain the first element by some word which should suggest some meaning. It appears, however, as early as 1663. See Type II. above.

Arley Hall (Blackrod)

The prefix *Ar-*, as we saw in the case of *Arbury* above, may represent original (O. E.) *erþ-*, ' plough land,' and the original form of *Arley* may have been **erþlēh*, simply ' ploughed field.' On the other hand, *Arley Kings* (Worcs.) is written *Erne* in twelfth century, and *Upper Arley* (Staffs.) is *Earnleie* in a Ch. dated 994 (though the form *-leie* shows it to have been copied much later), and *Ernlege* in D. B. On *Arley* in Staffs. and Worcs., cp. Duignan's Pl. Ns. of these counties; *æt Earnlege*, C. D., iv. p. 316, is *Arley* in Worces., according to Kemble. These spellings point clearly to O. E. *earn*, ' eagle,' as the origin of the first element. On the analogy of such forms as above, Skeat (Herts Pl. Ns.) suggests *earn* also as the first element of *Arbury Banks* in Herts. On *earn*, see Pt. II. below. The word here is most probably the name of the bird, and not a pers. n.

Arnside

1208. Arnuluesheued : L. F., i. p. 39.
1246. Arnolvesheued Dub. (Arnside Dub, now called Howes-water, q. v.) : L. F., i. p. 108.
1254. Arnolvisheved : / Arnolheved : } L. Inq., p. 199.
1668. Arnesyde, Chas. Wilson of : Rich. Wills, p. 314.

The first two forms make an original, O. E. *Arnulfesheāfod* certain. The Mod. form of first element seems to show that the popular form of the name was based upon the shortened form of the pers. n. *Arnulf*, otherwise we should have had *Arnelsed*, *Arnelside*. The loss of *h* in the second unstressed element is normal, and no doubt *Arnside* is a would-be learned expansion of a popular (*a*rnsed). See *hēāfod* in Pt. II. The pers. n. in first element might be either O. N. or O. E. See Rygh (Gamle Pers. Navne., p. 14) on O. N. *Arnulfr*. The name occurs among those of tenants in chief in D. B. *Ernulf*, *Ernulfus*, Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 108, and *Arnul*, ibid., p. 92.

I note that Björkman, p. 9, thinks that the name *Arnulf* may be partially Norse, I suppose on the strength of the loss of *w* in the second syllable, but forms like *Aðulf* for earlier *Æðelwulf* occur in O. E. charters. See remarks on this name under *Elston* below.

Artle Beck (Caton)

1190-1215 } Arkelbec : Cockrsnd. Ch., pp. 826, 835.
1215-50 }

1272. Arkelbek : Lanc. Ch., p. 169.

Apparently='the beck (q. v.) of Arketil,' or *Arnketil*, later *Arnkell*. For change of *-kl-* to *-tl-*, see p. 33, § 20, above. The name *Arnkell* (O. N.) seems very rare, though it is mentioned by Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 7; and Norske Gaardn, i. p. 190) under the form *Anki*. Even the form *Arkel-* is apparently more primitive than any found recorded in Norway itself, but the full form fortunately occurs in C. D., iv. p. 303—*Ærnketel*—and Searle cites also the form *Arnċytel*, a pure O. E. form. The Egl. family names *Arkle*, *Arcoll*, etc., are from this source. Cp. Bardsley, p. 59. *Archetel*, practically the full form of the O. N. pers. n., occurs in D. B. as the name of a landholder at the time of the survey, and the shorter forms, *Archil Archel* are very frequent in the list of landholders. Cp. Ellis, Introd., pp. 40, 41. *Archil* is also the name of an under-tenant in D. B. Cp. Ellis, Introd., p. 289. The same pers. n., occurs in *Arkillesgarth* (Yorks.), 1199, Call. Rotl. Ch., p. 11, and in *Artilborowe* (Northampt.), Duc. Lancs., i. p. 9, late fifteenth century; also *Arkelsate* (Yorks.), Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 34, No. 24, 1270; and in following name below.

Artlethorn

1200-25. Arkilterne : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 1010.

1228. Arkillesthorn : L. F., i. p. 58.

The 'thorn' (q. v. in Pt. II.) of *Arnkell*. See *Artle Beck*. Another example of the change *-kl-* to *-tl-* in the middle of an O. N. pers. n. occurs in the Yorks. *Thirtleby*, which in D. B. 52*b*. is written *Turchilebi*, and in K.'s Inq. of Yorks., p. 74, *Thorkelby*, and contains the name *Þorketill*. The earliest form suggests O. N. *tjörn*, 'pool,' as the second element, and Farrer translates it 'tarn,' Cockrsnd. Ch., loc. cit. *-tern* may, however, be written for O. E. *þyrne*, 'thorn-tree.'

Ashhursts' Hall (Wigan)

1305. Assenhirste : De Lac. Comp., 116.

1332. Asshhurst, R. de : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 8.

'Ash wood.' See *æsċ*, and *hyrst* in Pt. II. The 1305 form contains the adjectival form. Cp. *oaken*, *beechen*, etc.

Ashton

1086. Estun : D. B., 301*b* and 332*a*.
1246. Aystone (A-in-Makerfield) : L. F., i. p. 1.
1301. Essheton : Esshton : Esseton : L. F., i. p. 214. L. Inq., p. 307.
1305. Assheton-under Lyme : L. F., i. p. 206.
1319. Essheton (near Lancaster) : L. F., ii. p. 38.
1335. Assheton : Whal. Ch., T. v. xxxii. a. p. 233.

Ash here is probably a pers. n. The word means, therefore, ' the *tūn* of Ash.' See *æsċ* and *tūn* in Pt. II.

Ashworth

1236. Assewrth : L. F., i. p. 74.
1285. R. de Ascheworth : L. A. R., p. 206.

The ' homestead of Ash.' See *æsċ* and *wurþ* in Pt. II.

Askam (in Furness)

1326. Ascum : Lanc. Ch., p. 453.
1535. Askeham : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 30.

Probably the ' homestead of Ash.' See *hām* and *æsċ*.

The 1326 form suggests a different explanation, however, for the second element. It may possibly be an old dat. pl. suffix preserved in the spelling, or it may be O. E. *homm, hamm*, ' field, meadow ' (q. v. in Pt. II.). In this case, *Ask* is the ash tree.

Aspinall

(1) 1244. Aspiwallesiche : Whall. Ch., T. iv., p. 163.
(2) 1247. H. de Aspenewell : L. A. R., p. 40.
(3) 1260. Aspenwelle : Scar. Ch., 13.
(4) c. 1275. Aspinwalle : Scar. Ch., 25.

Forms 2 and 3 mean the ' well ' or ' spring of the aspens.' It is probable that 1 and 4 are also genuine forms, in use side by side with the other form. The *-wall* forms have given rise to the Mod. spelling. The loss of *w* in an unstressed syllable is normal. See *æsp(en)* and *well* in Pt. II.

Aspull (near Wigan) [æspə]

(1) 1199-1222. Aspul : Cockrsnd Ch., p. 695.
(2) 1247. Apshull : L. A. R., p. 46.
(3) 1245-68. Aspul : Cockrsnd. Ch., pp. 896-97.
(4) 1284. Aspol : L. A. R., p. 188.
(5) 1285. Aspel : L. A. R., p. 204. Asepell : L. A. R., p. 206.

(6) 1292. Hasphulle : Plac. Q. Warr., 372*b*.
(7) 1317. Aspul : L. F., ii. p. 25.
(8) 1383. Hasphull : L. F., iii. p. 15.

There seems no doubt that the word means 'hill of the aspens,' O. E. *æpshyll*, or *æsphyll*. No. 2 is probably based upon a much earlier document than that in which it occurs. The omission of the *h* in second syllable probably represents the genuine pronunciation of the thirteenth century. Nos. 6 and 8 show the initial *h* which characterises the Norman scribes' vagueness regarding aspirates.

Astley

1247. Asteleg : L. A. R., p. 27.
1285. Astelegh : L. A. R., p. 199.
1292. Asteleye : L. F., i. p. 172.
1320-46. Astleye : Wap. Sur.[1], 40.
Hasteleye : Testa de Nevil, p. 398.

The first element is the (Norse) pers. n. *Anskell* (*-kill*), which becomes *Ask(le)*, then *Astle* (cp. *Artle-* for *Arkle-* above under *Artlebeck*), and the second is the familiar O. E. *lēāh* (q. v. Pt. II.). *Askell* is found in O. N., and is used in Norw. Pl. Ns. See Rygh (Gamle Pers. Ns., p. 17), who gives the pl. n.—*Askelröd, Askelrud, Askelsrud, Askelaunet*. The name *Askyl Tokes sune* occurs as a signatory of a ch. of 1060 (C. D., iv. p. 143). That the early form of this pers. n. was *Ansketill* is proved by the precisely cognate O. E. *Ōsċytel*, which is found in Crawfurd Ch., v. l. 26, p. 10, here the name of a Bp. of Dorchester, as well as by the forms below. The date of the ch. is 957. This O. E. form presupposes **Ansketill*. This form of the O. N. name was, moreover, preserved among the Normans. Bardsley quotes *Anschetillus* from Linc. Survey, anno 1109. The form *Anketell* still exists as a surname. Bardsley is wrong, however, in identifying this name with *Arnketill*, for which see under *Artlebeck* above. They are two different names. *Ans-* is an old Gmc. word, meaning 'a divinity,' and is found in O. E. form *ōs*, the name of a runic letter, in the so-called Runic Poem, as an independent word ; also in many O. E. names—*Ōsbeorn, Ōslac, Ōsweald*, etc. The name was well established in England at the time of the Norman Conquest, as is proved by the various forms which occur among the tenants in chief in D. B. *Ōschetel* and *Ōschil* (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 194) seem to have been influenced, as regards the first element, by the English form of the name, though the second element is the Norse *-kil, -ketill*, as is seen from the spelling with *ch* ; *Ansketillus*

(a very primitive form, latinised) (Ellis, p. 40), *Anschil*, *Anschillus* (Ellis, p. 39) represent the pure Norse forms of this name in a primitive shape, surviving probably from the early 'Danish' invasions. *Aschil*, *Aschillus* (Ellis, ii. p. 42), and *Aschil* (Ellis, i. 236*b*) seem to represent a later Norse form, due to the later 'Danish' invasion. The latter forms are the basis of the name we are considering. D. B. has further pl. ns. with this element: *Aschiltorp*, 304, 2 (W. R. Yorks.); *Aschilebi* (W. R. Yorks.), 304*b*, 299*b*, 2; 306, 6, 2. *Askelby* (R. de) also occurs Pri. Dunelm, ii. pp. 258, 259, and *Aschilesmares* (Yorks.), D. B., 299, 2. On the pers. n. Askell, etc., see now Björkman, p. 16, etc., and under *Haslingden* below.

Atherton

1258-59. De Atherton: L. A. R., p. 229.

1265. { Aserton: / Adserton: } L. Inq., p. 232.

1320. Athyrton: Wap. Sur.[1], 36.

1340. Athirton: L. F., ii. p. 195.

If the L. Inq. forms are genuine, the first element appears to be the O. N. *Atser*, *Asser*, on which cp. Björkman (Nord. Pers. Ns., p. 22). The other forms point to an O. E. pers. n. beginning with *Æðel-*. For change of this to *Ather-* in M. E., cp. remarks under *Ardwick* above. If *Adser-* was the original first element, it is not unnatural that popular usage should have replaced it by the more familiar *Ather-*.

Audenshaw

(1) 1190-1212. { Aldenshade: / (2) Aldenesawe: } Ch. III. vi., L. P. R., p. 329 (Sir J. Byron's Blk. Bk.).

(3) 1240-59. Aldenshagh: Ch. VI. vi., L. P. R., p. 332 (Blk. Bk.).

(4) Aldwynschawe: cit. Farrer in footnote p. 322 of L. P. R., 'in another MS.,' with no indication of date, etc.

(5) 1523. Aldewynshaw: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 23.

Perhaps 'Alder wood,' O. E. *alden sceaga*, so far as Nos. 1 to 3 go. No. 1 is a bad scribal spelling; 2 represents in the second element the M. E. form of O. E. *sceaga* (with *s* for M. E. *sh*). No. 3 must represent O. E. *sceaga*. The Mod spelling represents an early Mod. Egl. diphthongisation of *a* before *l*. This early (*au*) naturally becomes (5). Cp. p. 33, § 19(6) above.

On the other hand, Bardsley, in Engl. and Welsh Surnames, Introd., p. 27, states that this name was once '*Aldwinshaw*,' but he gives no authority for this. The above M. E. forms

might quite well represent O. E. *Ealdwinessceaga*, or *Ealdwineshaga*, and even, so far as this evidence goes, Bardsley's suggestion may be quite right. When we come to No. (4) and to the sixteenth century form, this seems conclusive, but it is rather strange to find *Aldwyn-* so late, in the face of the more frequent early forms without *w*. It is of course possible that the spelling is based upon that of a document earlier than any of those above quoted, and may represent the original form. Of course *w* had long been lost in this position in the pronunciation, as the earlier spellings of this very name show. D. B. still writes *Aldwin* for the O. E. pers. n. *Ealdwine*. Cp. Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 14. If (4) and (5) are genuine we must interpret the name as 'Aldwin's Wood.'

Audley (Blackburn)

1229. Audely : C. R., iii. 382.

Audley in Staffs. is earlier *Aldiðelēh*, according to Duignan (Staff. Pl. Names, and Bardsley under *Audley*) ; though I have found *Alvithelegh* for this place (Pat. Rlls. Hen. III. 1216-25, p. 363). We are justified in assuming the possibility of a similar origin for the same name in Lancs. This may represent an earlier O. E. *Aldgȳþ* which is found in L. V. (cp. Müller's Index). If there were a river at this point one might suggest that Duignan's and Bardsley's *aldithe-* may represent an O. E. *ealdhyþe*, 'old hythe,' or landing place. Cp. *ad aldehithe* in Crawfurd Ch., xvi. l. 22 p. 33 (ann. 1150)). The O. E. *Aldgȳþ* (woman's) name survives in the D. B. forms *Aldgid* (Ellis, Introd., p. 13), 'uxor Grifin' ; and *Aldid*, 'libera femina' (Ellis, Introd., p. 14), both forms being names of landholders at the time of the Survey. We have not enough material to be sure that this pers. n. is really the first element in our *Audley*. It may be a much simpler compound—simple *ālde lēġ*, 'old field.'

Aughton (Ormskirk) [æftən]

(1) 1086. Achetun : D. B., 1, a, 7, 33.
(2) 1235. Acton : L. F., i. p. 64.
(3) 1282. *Acton* (three times), and *Aghton* (three times) : L. F., i. p. 158.
(4) 1311. Aughton : De Lac. Inq., 17.
(5) 1316. Afton : Lanc. Ch., p. 272.
(6) 1320-46. *Asshton (=Aȝȝhton ?) : Wap. Sur.[1], 40.
(7) 1565. Aughton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 43.

This name is apparently O. E. *āc tun* (so also Harrison, p. 36). Thus the name has the same origin as *Aighton* (q. v.). See the

discussion under the former name. No. 5 is the forerunner of the Mod. form in its popular local pronunciation. These *f* spellings are comparatively rare in M. E., though the *f-* pronunciation was well established. No. 6 is possibly a mis-reading on the part of the editor, or it may be a scribal error. See discussion of the various types under *Aighton* above. Note that *ch* in D. B. does not represent the sound of Mod. Egl. *ch* but of *k*.

Ayre (Green), Lancaster

1271-72. Eyre : Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. p. 462, C. 1912.

Ayside (Cartmel)

1272. Aykesheued : L. F., i. p. 156.

1679. { Ayside (three times : / Easide : } Rich. Wills, p. 21.

If the first form really refers to *Ayside* there is no difficulty. The Yorks. *Aysgarth*, which appears as *Aykescarth*, K.'s Inq., p. 150, is an exact parallel for the development of the first element, and M. E. *-heued* is replaced by *-side* when preceded by the Gen. *-s* in *Arnside*. See early forms of the name above. *Aik* which is O. N. may be either a pers. n. or may mean 'oak tree.' Thus the name means either 'Aik's hill,' or 'the hill of the oak trees.' See O. E. *hēāfod* in Pt. II. below. For another possibility, cp. *Eea* (river) below.

B

Backbarrow (Hamlet near Cartmel)

1685-89. Backbarrow Mill : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 301.

Perhaps the first element preserves the M. E. *bakke*, 'a bat,' in which case the name would mean 'bat haunted hill, or barrow.' Cp. *beorg* in Pt. II.

Bailey

1247. M. de Baylegh : L. A. R., p. 52.

1262. Balley : L. H. R., p. 238.

1284. { Bayley : L. F., i. p. 161. / Baldele : / Balegheyley : } L. A. R., p. 186.

1301. Bayleye : L. F., i. p. 198.

I can make no well-founded suggestion as to the first element. The various forms point in different directions, and none are very illuminative. See, however, the elements *bali*, *balg* and *bǣl* in Pt. II. I suppose the second element is O. E. *lǣh*, 'field.'

Bailrigg (Lancaster)

1277. J. de Ballrugg=? : L. A. R., p. 144.

13th century. { Balerig : / Bulrig : / Balrigh : } Lanc. Ch. { p. 284. / p. 236. / pp. 300, verify p. 350. }

1346. Balrig : Wap. Sur.[3], 66.

1532. Balrig : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 93.

The early forms seem to indicate that the first element is the O. E. pers. n. *Bæll*, which is mentioned by Searle, however, only as occurring in the local designation *Bælles wæg*. C. D. No. 408. See also the various elements mentioned under preceding name. The second element is Scandinavian *hryggr*, 'ridge' or 'hill.' See under O. E. *hryċġ* in Pt. II.

Balderstone

1280. Baldreston : Whall. Ch., T. III. lvii. p. 123.

Lt. 13th. Balderston : Whall. Ch., T. III. lxii. p. 123.

1305. Balderstone : De Lac. Comp., p. 64.

1311. Baldwestone : De Lac. Inq., 18.

1346. Balerston : Wap. Sur.[3], 84.

'The tūn of Baldhere.' The pers. n. *Bealdhere*, *Baldhere* is well established in O. E., see Searle, p. 85. *Baldheresberg* occurs C. D., No. 92. Cf also *Baldersby* in Yorks., which in D. B. is *Baldrebi* (31, 85*b*).

Ballam (Lytham)

1190-94. Balholm : Ch. I x., L. P. R., p. 346.

1332. Balghholm : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 56.

The second element is O. N. *holmr* (q. v. in Pt. II.). M. E. *-holm*, in the unstressed syllable has been levelled under the much commoner *hām* or *hamm* (q. v.). The first element is doubtful, but see remarks and suggestions under *bali*, *balg*, and *bæl* in Pt. II.

Balshaw (Roeburn)

1247. J. de Balsagh : L. A. R., p. 51.

1294. Balghschae : De Lac. Comp., p. 6.

1305. Balschaghe : De Lac Comp., p. 102.

1311. Balschagh : De Lac. Inq., p. 20.

1332. Balshagh : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 20.

The first element may be a pers. n. either O. E. *Bæll* (see under *Bailrigg* above), or O. N. *Balle*. Cp. Björkman's O. N. Pers. Ns. in Engl., p. 25. On the other hand it may be one of the elements suggested under the foregoing names in *Bail-* and *Bal-*. The element **balg* is perhaps the least unlikely. All these names are very doubtful and of no particular interest, as their etymology

is pure speculation, with not much to direct it in the early forms. The second element is O. E. *sceaga*, 'wood' (q. v.).

Bamford (Bury)

1228. Bamford : Cl. R., iii. 68.
1282. Baumford : L. F., i. p. 157.
1284-1329. Bamford : Whall. Ch., T. iv., 36, p. 166.

Bampton in Oxfordshire appears as *Beandun* in A.-S. Chron., Parker MS., ann., 614, Plummer's Ed. i. p. 22. The first element here and in the Lancs. name may be an O. E. pers. n. in *Bean-*, of which Searle cites *Beanstan* from Beowulf (l. 524), and *Beanhard* with no reference. This is not satisfactory. The first element may be merely O. E. *bēam*, 'tree' (q. v. in Pt. II.). For *ford*, see Pt. II.

Bamfurlong (Wigan)

The following forms occur in Cockrsnd. Ch. of names which though not referring to the above place may yet throw light on the origin of the name :—

A. 1205-23. Bonghefurlong : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 116.
1205-23. Bonkefurlong : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 117.
1235-62. Bancfurlong : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 123.

This name clearly means the 'furlong on the bank,' and such a form as *Bancfurlong* might easily become *Bamfurlong* by a change of *nc* (ŋk) to *m*, before a following *f*,

B. 1200-20. Benfurlong : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 456.
1200-30. Benefurlong : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 457.
1200-68. Benefurlong : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 457.

These forms point either to the pers. n. *Bēān*, which appears to occur in *Beandun*, an O. E. form of Bampton, Oxfordshire (see remarks under *Bēām* in Pt. II.), or O. E. *bēān*, 'bean,' 'vetch.'

Bamfurlong might equally well be derived from such a form as *Bēānfurlong*

Bardsea [bādzə]

1154-89. Berdeseia : Furn. Ch., 128.
1202. in Bardeseia (Lat. abl.) : L. F., i. p. 17.
Ante 1269. Berdesey : Furn. Ch., 443.
1292. Berdeseye : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1348. Berdeseye : L. F., ii. p. 126.
1410-11. Berdesey : L. F., iii. p. 69.
1532. Berdesay : L. and C. Misc., p. 94.

The first element may be the Scand. pers. n. *Barði* (cp. under *Beardwood* below) ; or a shortened form of an O. E. pers. n.

such as *Beardulf* (cp. under *Beardsall* below), or again it may be the O. E. pers. n. *Beorhred*, q. v. in Pt. II. under **Beord* (3), p. 287. The suffix is either O. E. *ēa*, 'water-meadow,' or 'water,' or O. E. *ēg*, 'island.' (For these words see the various origins of *-ey* in Pt. II.)

Bare

?1094. Bar : Lanc. Ch., p. 10.
Lt. 12th cent. Bar : Lanc. Ch., p. 13.
1206. Bar : L. F., i. p. 25.
1262-63. Bare : Lanc. Ch., p. 270.

Barlow (near Manchester) { Hall / Moor }

1259-60. T. de Berlawe : L. A. R., p. 297.
1325. Barlawe : L. C. R., p. 162.
1326. Barlowe (twice) : L. C. R., p. 163.
1336. Bærlowe : L. F., ii. p. 99.
1409-10. } Barlawe : } L. F., iii. pp. 69 and 123.
1422. }

'Barley mound,' O. E. *bere hlǣw*. See each word in Pt. II.

Barnacre (township near Garston)

1523. Bernaker : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 23.
1587. Barnaker : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 51.

? 'Field with a barn in it.' But first element may, however, be a pers. n., for which see *Barnside* below.

Barncroft (Wray)

1212-42. Berecroft : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 503.
1294. } Bercroft : De Lac. Comp., pp. 12, 28.
1295. }

The old form suggests 'barley farm,' O. E. *bere croft*. See each word in Pt. II. The Mod. form, if genuine, and anything more than a fancy spelling, is due to association with *barn*, q. v. in Pt. II. The old word *bere* for barley is obsolete.

Barnside (House on moors near Colne)

1258. Bernesette : L. Inq., p. 217.
1301. Bernesete : Plac. Abbrev., p. 242.

The second element is pretty certainly O. E.* *sǣte*, M. E. *sēte*, 'seat.' As to the first we are left to conjecture. It is probably a short form of one of the numerous O. E. pers. n. beginning with *Beorn*. The name *on Beornwoldes sǣtan* occurs in a Ch. of 972, C. D., p. 79. Such a name would produce the M. E. form above. Another O. E. pers. n. is *Beornwulf*, which is found in the old forms of the Staffs. *Barlarton*; D. B. *Bernulvestone*.

Cp. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns. *Bernulfeswic* occurs L. F., i. p. 58, and has given Mod. *Barlawic*. Again Yorks. *Barnaby* occurs in Kirkby's Inquest (p. 136) as *Barnalby*, and in the Knts.' Fees (p. 238) as *Bernaldeby*, which forms certainly point to the name *Beornwald*.

We may perhaps conclude that the first element in *Barnside* was either *Beornwulf*, or *Beornwald*.

Barrowford

1294. Barouforde : De Lac. Comp., p. 16.

From O. E. *beorge* (loc.), and *ford*, 'the ford by the barrow.' See *beorg*, and *ford* in Pt. II.

Bartle

1256. Bartayl : L. F., i. p. 123.

Barton

1086. Bartun : D. B., 301*b*.
1192. Barton : Whall. Ch., T. II. vii. p. 39.
1329. Barton : Whall. Ch., T. v., xlii. p. 255.
1412. Bartona : Furn. Ch., p. 226.

'Barley enclosure.' See *beretūn* in Pt. II.

? Bastwell (Blackburn)

1288. Baddestwysel : Whall. Ch., T. III. xxxiv. p. 101.
1329. Battistwyssel : Whall. Ch., T. v. xlii. p. 263.
1322. Batestwysel : Original. Rlls., 270.
1594. Bastwell : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 62.

The early forms mean 'the twisel or river fork of *Badda*.' Cp. *twisla* in Pt. II. *Bada* and *Badda* are O. E. names, cp. Searle, p. 78. *Badan pyt* and *Baddan pil* both occur in C. D. This pers. n. is found in the Yorks. *Badsworth*, which in D. B. is *Badesuurde*, etc.

Baxenden (Blackburn)

1332. Bakestonden : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 79.

'The dene by the *tūn* of *Bacca*.'

Bacca occurs in Liber Vitae (Sweet, O. E. T., p. 158, l. 174, etc.). In a local designation the name occurs in *Baccan ġeat*, C. D., No. 1096 (cit. Searle). This is probably the first element in *Baxby* (Yorks.) ; cp. Plac. Abbrev., p. 335. The D. B. form of this pl. n. is *Bachesbi* (11*b*, etc.), and K.'s Inq. has *Baxeby* (p. 94). The change from a weak to a strong form of a name is common enough. For the other elements of *Baxenden*, see *tūn*, and *denu* in Pt. II. below.

There is a *Baxton Moor* in Derbyshire.

Baycliff (Dalton)

1212. { Bellecliue : L. Inq., i. p. 86.
Belleclive : T. de Nevil, 406*b*.

Apparently a blend of French *bel*, 'beautiful,' and English *clif*. Zachrisson, p. 13, cites early forms such as *Beauxfield* for *Whitfield*. So possibly here, the French word may translate such an English word as *fæger*, or *scēn*, 'beautiful.' Cp. *Bellfield* below.

Beardsall Fold (Blakeley near Salford)

1295. Berdeshille : De Lac. Comp., 34.
1305. Berdeshul : De Lac. Comp., 77.

The first element is certainly a pers. n. either from an O. E. *Bearda*, which, however is not well established, or a shortened form of O. E. *Beardwulf* (cp. Searle, p. 80), or from O. N. *Barði*, for which see next name. The Yorks. *Bardsey* appears in D. B. as *Berdese* and in Plac. Abbrev., p. 278, xiii. Edw. I., as *Berdesaye*. The same vol. of Pleadings has *Berdefeld* (Essex), p. 329, xi. Edw. II.

Beardwood (Blackburn)

1325. Berdeworthe (Blakebourne, etc.) : Cal. Inq. A. q. D., p. 277.

The first element is perhaps the Scand. (Isl.) pers. n. *Bardi* (*Barði*), which occurs in D. B., Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 47. Cp. Björkman, p. 25. For the second element see *worþ* in Pt. II. The old place has disappeared, though the first element remained to designate a *wood*, which perhaps formed part of *Barði's* estate.

Beaumont

1230. J. O. Bello Monte : Cl. R., iii. 446.
1292. De Bellomonte : Lanc. Ch., p. 63.
1298. Beaumount : Lanc. Ch., p. 334.
1316. Bealmont : Lanc. Ch., p. 274.
1336. { Bello Monte : Furn. Ch., p. 140.
Belli Montis : Furn. Ch , p. 666.
1345. Beumont : Furn. Ch., p. 141.
1379. Beaumont : Furn. Ch., p. 204.

A foreign (French) name='beautiful hill.' See *bellus* and *mont* in Pt. II. Strictly speaking, the M. E. *bel-* forms would produce Mod. *Belmont*, the *beu-* forms Mod. *Bewmont*. The actual Mod. pronunciation is no doubt derived from French *beau*. Cp. *Belvoir* (bīvə) from *Belvedeire*, Ch. I. xiii., L. P. R., p. 368, *Belveire*, and *Bevis* from *Bealfiz* (cf. Rlls. Hen. III. 1227-1231. p. 190).

Beechy (Head) from *Belchef* as compared with *Beaulieu* (bjūli.) Both types are found of all these names in M. E. documents.

Becconsall Hesketh-with [beknsə]

(1) 1208. Bekaneshou : L. F., i. p. 32.
(2) 1212. Bekanoshow : Gt. Inq. L. Inq. p. 6.
(3) 1247. Bekanesho : L. A. R., p. 15.
(4) 1259. Beckeneshaue : L. A. R., p. 232.
(5) 1372. Bekaneshowe : L. F., ii. p. 184.
(6) 1393. Becanshowe : L. F., iii. p. 42.
(7) 1429-30. Becansawe : L. F., iii. p. 125.

From O. E. *beācnes hōh*, or *æt beacnes hōge*, 'the hill of the beacon,' Nos. 4 and 7 look as if there had been confusion of the second element with M. E. *shawe*, O. E. *sċeaga* (q. v. Pt. II.). The Mod. form is an innovation as regards the second element, which has nothing to do with the original *hōh*, but is made on the analogy of other names ending in *-all* from O. E. *halh* (q. v. Pt. II.). All the above early forms are from an oblique case—O. E. *-hōge*, M. E. *-howe*, except perhaps No. 3.

Bedford (Manor of)

1296. } Bedeford : L. F., i. p. 182.
1335. } —— : L. F., ii. p. 96.
1320. Bedford : Wap. W. Der., 36.
1504-05. Bedforth : L. F., iii. p. 170.

There seems to be no reason against assuming that this name has the same origin as that of the better known *Bedford* which is discussed by Skeat (Beds. Pl. Names, pp. 19-20). The first element is simply the pers. n. *Beda* or *Bæda*, or *Bædd*,, which are all mentioned by Searle, the latter, however, only occurring in a local designation *Bædeswel*. For the second element, see *ford* in Pt. II.

Bellfield (Littleboro', Rochdale)

1332. Belefeld : L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 30.

Is this a mixture of French and English as in Baycliff (q. v. above) ? Or is the first element O. E. *bæl*, 'funeral pyre,' (q. v. in Pt. II.) ?

Beswick

1327. Bexwyk, T. de : Lay Subs., Farrer MS., 32.
1360. Bexwik : L. F., ii. p. 165.
1530. Bexweke : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 27.

'The place of *Becc* or *Becca*.'

The pers. n. *Becca* occurs in the O. E. poem *Wīdsīþ* (l. 19),

and *Beccanford* is found in C. D., No. 184 (cit. Searle). *Bexwik* may stand for **Becceswik*, with a strong form of the pers. n. The disappearance of *k* before another consonant as in **Bekswik* is common. Cp. § 4 of Introd. For second element, see *wīc* in Pt. II.

Bethecar (Staveley)

I can offer no explanation of prefix, but cp. *Bethleghton* (1246), L. F., i. p. 108 (three times). Apparently in Yealand.

The second element may be O. N. *kjarr*, 'copse' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Bickershaw

?1209. Bicswahe : L. F., i. p. 29.
('Between the place called—— and the ford of Holecroft').

1395. Bykersha[gh] : L. F., iii. p. 44.

'The wood by the beck or brook.'

The second element is *sċeaga*, 'wood.' Cp. remarks on *Bicker-* under next name.

Bickerstaffe

Type I.

c. 1200. Bikerstat : Scar. Ch., 6, p. 261.
1230. Bykstat : Ibid., 9, p. 262.
c. 1260. Berkerstat : Ibid., 14, p. 263.
c. 1280. Bekirstat : Ibid., 28, p. 268.
1282. Bykirstath : L. F., i. p. 159.
1292. Bykerstath : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1300. Bikersteth : Scar. Ch., 4, p. 260.
1306. Beckerstat : Ibid., 46, p. 274.
1312. Bikerstath : Cal. Cl. Rlls., 550.
1316. Bykerstath : Cal. Cl. Rlls., 332.
1320-46. Bykerstath : Wap. W. Der., 34.
1516. Bekerstath : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 19.

Type II.

1267. Bikerstaff : L. A. R., p. 242. (I owe this reference to Mr. Sephton.)
1324. Bykerstaff (G. de) : Plac. Abbrev., p. 343.

'Shore of the brook.' The first element can, I think, hardly be anything but O. N. *bekkjar*. Gen. of *bekkr*, 'brook.' There is thus a difficulty about the change of *e* to *i* already in the earliest form. There may be some analogy at work, though I cannot suggest what it is. No. (3), if genuine, looks like O. N. *Bjarkar-*, gen. of *Bjork*, 'birch-tree.' The second element seems

a confusion between O. N. *staðr*, 'place,' and O. E. *stæþ*, 'shore,' 'river bank.' The Mod. form, as is clearly proved by the above material, has a bogus second element. The family name *Bickersteth*, as is often the case, preserves the genuine form more faithfully than the place which gives rise to it. Note the spelling of 1300 which is still preserved by the family.

A *Bickerton* exists in Yorks., which has a D. B. form *Bickretone* (65*b*).

Bigthwaite

1247. Bigetwayt : L. A. R., p. 103.
1323. Biggethwaŷt : L. F., ii. 57.
1325. Bigthwait : } L. C. R., pp. 113-14.
1325. Bigtwait : }

'Barley thwaite.' See *bygg* (O. N.) and *þveit* (O. N.) in Pt. II. below.

Billinge

1247. Billing : L. A. R., p. 51.
1256. Bulling : L. F., i. p. 127.
1321. Bullyn : L. F., ii. p. 41.
1338. Bullyn : L. F., ii. p. 108.
1356. Billyngge : Rec. Rolls, p. 36.
1412. Billynch : Rec. Rolls, p. 36.
1422. Billynge : L. F., iii. p. 81.

I am told that the name of this place is pronounced (bilindž). In this case the second element is certainly O. E. **inċġ*, 'field' (cp. *ing* in Pt. II.). The first element is the O. E. pers. n. *Bill*, which see in Searle. It occurs in several names in Lancs. The 1356 form, and still more so that of 1412, points to a pronunciation corresponding to that of the present day. I owe these two references to Mr. H. Alexander.

Billington

1208. Bilinton : L. F., i. p. 36.
1259. Bilington : Whall Ch., T. III. lxvi. p. 131.
1288. Bilyngton : Whall. Ch., T. III. xlv. p. 111.

'The tūn of Billa.' This pers. n. is recorded by Searle in the O. E. period, and he also notes its occurrence in C. D. in the pl. n. *Billancumb*. It further occurs in *Bilnor* (Kt.), which appears as *Billanora* in a Ch. of Edgar of 966, Thorpe's Diplomatar., p. 216. On the change of *-an-* to *-ing-*, cp. p. 35 above.

Bilsborough

1086. Bileuurde : D. B., 301*b*. (?).
1227. Billesburg : L. F., i. p. 47.

Hen. III. Ballisburg : Cal. Inq. of Hen. III. (undated), p. 10, No. 41.

1256.
1292.
1342.
1504.
} Billesburgh { L. F., i. p. 127. / P. Q. W., 275*b* and 379. / L. F., ii. p. 114. / L. F., iii. p. 156.

The '*burg* of Bill.' Cp. *burg* in Pt. II. and further the name *Billinge* above.

Birchall (Manchester)

1295. Birchehalgh : Whall. Ch., T. II. xxxviii. p. 67.
1601-02. Birchall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 69.

'The corner or nook of birches' See preceding names, and *halh* in Pt. II.

Birchenlee (Nelson)

1202. Biricherelee : L. F., p. 15.
(Nr. Rainford ?).
1295. Byrchenleye : De Lac. Comp., p. 23.

'The field of birches.' See *birċe* and *lēah* in Pt. II.

Birchley (St. Helens)

1545. Birckeley : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 178.

Requires no explanation, and differs from preceding name only inasmuch as the first element here is a noun and not an adj. The form of 1545 would, of course, have given Mod. *Birkley*. The *-k-* form must be explained as due to confusion between O. E. *birċe*, and *beorc*, which had the same meaning. In the latter the *c* was not fronted.

Birkdale

1305. Birkedale : De Lac. Comp., p. 107.
1311. Bỳrkedeale : De Lac. Inq., p. 22.
1540. Birkdale : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 30.

'Vale of birches.' See explanation of form *birk* instead of *birch* under *Birchley* above.

***Birkhead** (in East Lancs. ?). Now lost.

1381. Byrkheved : L. F., iii. p. 11.
1513. Ricardus Birkheved : Duc. Lanc, i. p. 17.
1640. Birchenhead : Duc. Lanc, p. 98.

'Hill of birches.' See *birċe* under preceding names, and in Pt. II., and *hēāfod* in Pt. II.

Birtle

Type I.

1209. Bridestwisel : L. F., i. p. 30.
1285.
1292. Bridhistwisil : L. Inq., p. 275.
1298. Briddestwysel : Whall. Ch., T. v. xxi. p. 213.
1323-24. Briddestwesill : L. C. R., pp. 30, 31, 35.
1364. Briddestwisell : L. F., ii. p. 171.
1372. Bridestwesel : (E. de) J. of Gaunt's Reg., i. p. 44.
1374. Britwesil (E. de) : J. of Gaunt's Reg., i. p. 88.
1391. Brittwishall : L. F., iii. p. 37.
1395. Brittwysell : L. F., iii. p. 45.
1397. Britwysill, de : Preston G. Rlls., p. 5.
1507-08. Britwisel : L. F., iii. p. 171.
1609. Birtwisill manor : Duc. Lanc, p. 72.

Type II.

1311. Berdtwisell : De Lac. Inq., 14.
1434. Byrtwesill : L. F., iii. p. 127.

The second element is O. E. *twisla*, 'a fork,' which see in Pt. II. I cannot give a reasonable explanation of the first element. From Type I. it might be O. E. *brid*, 'a young bird,' but this seems absurd. It may be a pers. n., but Searle gives no very reliable authority for its use as such.

Bispham

1086. Biscopham : D. B., 301*b*.
1094. Bischopeham : Ch. i. ii., L. P. R., p. 290.
1129. / 1196. Biscopham : Ch. iii. i., L. P. R., p. 273. / L. F., i. p. 96.
1216-1317. Biscopham : Lanc. Ch., pp. 14, 49.

'Bishop's house, or dwelling.' See remarks under *Biscop*, Pt. II., and *hām*. A similar contraction occurs apparently in *Bysthorpe in Lyndysey*, Co. Lincoln (1433), Cat. Anc. Dds. No. c. 817, p. 467.

Blackburn [blɛgbərn]

1086. Blackeburne : D. B., 2, a, 1.
1183-92. Blakburn : Whall. Ch., Tit. iii. xlix. p. 117.
1193. / 1256. Blakeburne : Whall. Ch., Tit. iii. v. p. 76. / L. F., i. p. 122.
1294. Blakburne : De Lac. Comp., p. 7.

'Black stream.' See O. E. *blæc* and *burna* in Pt. II.

Blackleach (Garstang)

1256. Blakelache : L. F., i. p. 123.
('From Sallewykemoss along the B. to the turbary of Englisshe-le.')
1332. Blakelache : Lanc and Ches. Misc., II. ii. p. 52.
1391. Adam de Blaklache : L. F., iii. p. 39.
1598-99. Blacklach : Duc. Lanc, i. p. 65.

'Black stream.' See *blæc* and **læce* in Pt. II.

Blackpool

1180-90. Blakepul : Ch. II. xiv., L. P. R., p. 377.
1661. Blacke pull, Joh. Bailey of : Rich. Wills, p. 14.
1674. Blackpool, Margaret Bamber of : Rich. Wills, p. 16.

Requires no interpretation. See *blæc* and *pul* in Pt. II. Note that as is usual with early forms of words ending in *pool*, these have the O. E. short *pul* and not *pōl*.

Blackrod

1199. Blackeroade : Cal. Rot. Ch., p. 4. (Fol. ed.).
1292. 1322. Blakerode : Plac. Q. Warr., 375b. L. F., i. p. 169. L. F., ii. p. 48.
1337. Blakerod : L. F., ii. p. 105.

'Black clearance' (through a forest). See *Blæc*, and *Rōd* in Pt. II.

Blackstone Edge

1202. Blacstaneclohhum : L. F., i. p. 15.

This form seems to be a compound with O. E. *clōh*, 'clough,' (q. v.) with a dat. pl. suffix.

Blawith

1341. Blawith : Furn. Ch., 271.
1522. Blawith : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 23,

'Blue wood.' See *Blā* and *Viðr* in Pt. II.

Bleasdale

1228. Blesedale : Whall. Ch., T. VI. ; Per. Lanc. p. 371.
1540. Blesedale : Duc. Lanc, i. p. 112.

The 'valley of the blaze.' Referring perhaps to the fire used in clearing the place of forest or scrub. See *blæse* and *dæl* in Pt. II.

Bleathwaite

c. 1400. Blytwait : Furn. Ch., 226.

First element=?. See *þveit* in Pt. II.

Blowick

=Blothe- wic ?

Cp. *Blothelay* in T. de N., 371*b*. But see Farrer's note, L. Inq., i. p. 128 : 'for *Blothelay* (in the text) read *Glothwayt*= Glodwick.'

Blythe (Ormsk)

1366. Blythe : Lanc and Chesh Misc., ii. p. 108.

Bold

1286., 1297., 1301. Bolde : L. F., i. p. 164. / L. F., i. p. 183. / L. F., i. p. 196.
1332. Boulde : Lanc and Chesh Misc., II. ii. p. 14.
1320-46. Bulde : Wap. W. Der. Survey, 36.
1380., 1400. Bold : L. F., iii. p. 8. / L. F., iii. p. 61.
1439. Bolde : L. F., iii. p. 105.
?1532. Boulde : Lanc and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 14.

'The building,' 'palace.' O. E. *bold*. See this word, and *botl*, Pt. II. Presumably this designation would be applied to the principal building in a district ; then as the village or township grew up round this, the name was extended to the whole collection of dwellings. Cp. in this connection the extension of *burg* from the fortress itself to the settlement round it.

(1.) **Bolton** (Urswick parish) in Furness [b*a*utn]

1086. Bodeltone : 301*b*.
1227. Bowelton : L. F., i. p. 52.
1235. Bowolton : L. F., i. p. 67.
1304. Boulton : L. F., i. p. 204.

The D. B. form, a common M. E. spelling of this name, may stand for a Norman scribe's pronunciation of an English *botil* or *bothil*. See the spelling *Bothelton*, under next entry.

(2.) **Bolton** (le Moors)

1200-01. Boulton : L. P. R., 47, p. 132. / Bothelton : L. P. R., 47, p. 130.

1208. Bolton : L. P. R., 55, p. 228.
1331. Bolton on the Mores : L. F., ii. p. 80.
1332. Gt. Boulton on the Moors : L. F., ii. p. 87.

The spelling *Bothelton* above may be compared with the D. B. form of the preceding name. Presumably both Lancs. *Boltons* have the same origin. D. B. writes *Bodeltone* for all the Yorks. *Boltons* (see Index Locorum, I. to Kirkby's Inquest, p. 492). I am not at all satisfied with the suggestions given above under *Bolton* (1). One expects a pers. n. as the first element of place in *-ton*. One might suggest the O. E. *Bōtwulf* (Mod. *Botolf*) were it not that D. B. has this name clearly spelt in *Botulvesbrige* (*Botolf's Bridge*, Hunts). The various spellings of the two Lancs. *Boltons* are puzzling, and I can offer no suggestion which is at all convincing.

Is it possible that the first element is the O. N. female name *Bothild* ? This name is mentioned by Rygh (Norske Gaardn, i. p. 287), and also a pl. n. *Botildurud*. It occurs as the name of a queen or abbess in Liber Vitae, O. E. T., p. 154, l. 30, and is also said by Searle to occur in D. B. as a woman's name in Suffolk.

Booth ?

1295. J. de Bothe : De Lac. Comp., p. 21.
1500. Boothes (manor in Worsley) : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 12.

Bootle

1212. } Botle : { Gt. Inq. L. Inq., p. 22.
1257. } { L. Inq., p. 203.
1284. Botel : L. A. R., p. 184.
1324. Bothull : L. C. R., p. 79.
1320-46. Botell : Wap. W. Der. Survey, 34.
1327. Botull : Lay Subs. Farrer MS., 9.
1396. Botyl : L. F., iii. p. 50.
1602. Bootell, Thos. : Preston G. Rlls., p. 48.

'Building,' 'palace.' O. E. *botl*. This etymology must be properly understood, as it would be impossible to assume that *Bootle*, as generally pronounced, could be derived from O. E. *botl*, without further explanation. The M. E. forms above presuppose a late O. E. *botel*, which in M. E. would become *bōtel*, the form represented above. This M. E. form could not possibly develop into (būtl) but would become (bōtl, boutl). The modern pronunciation is doubtless based upon the spelling with *oo*.

This, in its turn, is an ordinary way of expressing a long vowel in M. E. On the other hand it is curious that no form *Bootel* is found among the M. E. forms, and the forms *Bothull*, *Botull* point to some compound with O. E. *hyll* which appears as *-hull* in so many names. I cannot agree with Harrison that the etymology of this name 'offers no etymological difficulty.' If the normal course of sound change be ignored, of course, many difficulties disappear.

Borwick

Early 13th c. 1272. Berwyk : Lanc. Ch., 159.
Early 13th c. 1272. Berewyke : Lanc. Ch., 157 and 161.
1316. Berwicke : Wap. Lons., 82.
1522. Barwyk : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 64.
1597. Borwicke, Robt. Kytson of : Rich. Wills, p. 179.
1607. 1623. Barwicke, J. Kytson of : Alice Kytson of : Rich Wills, p. 179.
1670. Borwick, J. Kitson of : Rich. Wills, p. 177.

The early forms point unmistakably to *bere wic* (q. v. Pt. II.), but I am unable to account satisfactorily for the development of *e* to *o* in the Mod. form. The development of *-er-* to *-ar-* in M. E. is normal. Possibly after the lip-consonant (*b*) there was a tendency to round (*a*) in Early Mod. pronunciation, to (ɔ̆), especially before *r*. For a somewhat analogous development, cp. pronunciation of *war* (wɔ̄).

Bottin

1235. Botnebek : L. F., i. p. 67.
? Botine : L. A. R.?
(Roll 1045, m. 2. Cit. Farrer, L. F., i. p. 95 n.)
1335. 1347. Boton (personal name) : L. F., ii. pp. 84 and 123.
1594. Botton, A. Bateson of : Rich. Wills, p. 23.
1605. Bottne Edm., Bateson of : Rich. Wills, p. 23.

If this name, as appears possible from the first form cited above, was originally joined to the noun *bek*, it may be the O. E. pers. n. *Bōtwine* of which Searle gives several examples.

Bouth

1337. Bouthe : Furn. Ch., p. 173.
1401. Bouthe : Furn. Ch., p. 205.

Bowerham

1196. Borgerha (twice) : L. F., i. p. 4 (*-ha* for *-ham* ?)
Also in Furn. Ch., p. 16 in document of 1196.

Bowland [bolən]

TYPE I.

1102. Boelandam : (Lat. Acc.) Ch. I. xv., L. P. R., p. 382.
1294. / 1322. / 1324. Bouland : Whall. Ch., T. VI. (Ch. of Ed. I.), p. 378. / L. C. R., p. 63. / L. C. R., pp. 65 and 66.
1587. Bolland Forest : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 158.

Bowstead Gates (Ulverston)

1606. Bostedyeat, Will. Lindoe of : Rich. Wills, p. 184.

Boysnape (Eccles)

1235. Bruneshop : L. F., i. pp. 62-3.
1277. Boylsnape : L. A. R., p. 144.
13th c. Boylesnape : Whall. Ch., T. II. xxi. p. 51. / Bolesnape : Whall. Ch., T. II. xxxiii. p. 63.
1518. Bulsnape : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 16.
1528. Boylesnape : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 28.

I take *Boylsnape* to come from an earlier *Bōlsnæp*, *bōl* (O. N.) = 'reclaimed land,' 'farm,' *snæp* (O. N.) 'pasture land.' See *bōl*, and *snāpe* in Pt. II. *Bruneshop* is of an entirely different origin. The first element may be a pers. n.; the second is apparently O. E. *hop*, 'corner,' 'secluded place.'

Bradford

1196. Bradeford : L. F., i. p. 6.
(Near Heaton Norris.)

'Broad ford.' See *brād* and *ford* in Pt. II. O. E. *brād* has undergone shortening of the vowel before the combination *-df-*.

Bradkirk

1235. Bredkyrk : L. F., i. p. 72.
1323. Bredekirk : L. C. R., p. 40.
1330. Bredekirk : L. F., ii. p. 78.
1366. Bridekirke : L. F., ii. p. 170. / Bredkirk : L. F., ii. p. 181.
1421-22. Bredkirk : L. F., iii. p. 86.

'Broad,' 'spacious' church. The early forms show a mutated form of O. E. *brād- —brǣde-*, M. E. *brēde*. *Bride-* must be a scribal error, or may be due to an association with M. E. *brīd*, 'bride.' For shortening, cp. p. 24, § 9, and remarks in preceding word. See *brād*, and *kirk* (under *ċirċe*) in Pt. II.

Bradley

1305. Bradelay : De Lac. Comp., p. 74.

'Broadfield.' O. E. *brād lēah* (q. v. Pt. II.). See remarks on first element in preceding words; also those under *Broadley*.

Bradshaw (Bolton)

TYPE I.

1218-19. H. de Bradeshahe : L. A. R., p. 256.
1256-57. Huctred de Bradeshawe : L. A. R., p. 292.
1295. Bradeschac : De Lac. Comp., p. 2.
1311. Bradeschagh : De Lac. Inq., 19.
1320-46. Bradschaghe : Wap. W. Der., 36.
1350. Bredeshagh : Feod. Mil., cit. Baines, iv. p. 758.

TYPE II.

1230-31. T. de Bradesseye : L. A. R., p. 271.

'Broadwood.' O. E. *brād scèaga* (q. v. Pt. II.). Type II., which, however, does not concern us in dealing with the Mod. form, must be due to confusing the suffix with O. E. *haga*, and substituting for this the variant *hæġe*. See both forms in Pt. II.

Brakenthwaite

1189-91. Brakenesthweit : Ch. XI., L. P. R., p. 349.

'The thwaite where the bracken grows.' See *Bracken* and *þveit* in Pt. II.

Brandwood

1329. Brendewood : Whall. Ch., T. v. xlii. p. 256.
1543. Brandwood : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 169.
1624. Brandwood : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 84.

'The wood that has been cleared by burning,' or 'the wood in the clearing.' See *brand*, and *wudu*, Pt. II.

Brathay

1157-63. Braiza : ['in Windermere'], Ch. IX. iv., L. P. R., p. 310.
1154-89. Brayza : Furn. Ch., p. 344.
1196. Braitha : Furn. Ch., p. 17.

'Broad enclosure'? The *z* of the first two forms is a Norman-French spelling and expresses the sound of (ts), which is probably a Norman attempt at the English (þ) sound.

The first element is perhaps the O. N. *breiðr*, 'broad,' equivalent to O. E. *brād*; the second O. E. *hæġe*, 'fenced in place' (q. v. in Pt. II.). The second element is, however, ambiguous in the early forms.

Breightmet [breitmət, brɑitmət, breikmət, bregmət]

TYPE I.

1256-57. Brigdmed : L. A. R., p. 292.
1257. Brihtmede : L. F., i. p. 131.
1506. Brightmede : L. F., iii. p. 161.

TYPE II.

1247. Brithsmete : L. A. R., p. 117.
1322. Brightmete : L. F., p. 193.
1323. Brightemet : L. C. R., p. 29.
1324. Brightmet : L. C. R., p. 33.
1325. Breghtmete : L. C. R., p. 160.
1327. Brightmete : C. del., Lay. Subs. Farrer MS., 25.
1642. Brightmett : R. Banester de, Preston G. Rlls., p. 86.
1642. Bridgmett : R. Banester de, Preston G. Rlls., p. 107.

The Mod. form is due to Type II., and I can offer no explanation of the unvoicing of the *d* of *mǣd* the element *-met*. Type I. is apparently *briht mǣd*, 'bright mead.' See *beorht*, *briht*, and *mǣd* in Pt. II.

A curious form *Brekmeks* occurs, Duc. Lanc., i. p. 18, in a document of Henry VIII.'s time. This may be *Breightmet*. With this form of second element cp. *Beckermet* in *Cumb.*

Bretherton

1292. Bretherton : Plac. Q. Warr, 375*b*.
1311. Bretherton : De Lac. Inq., 22.

***Briartwistle**

1311. Breretwisle : De Lac. Inq., 10.

The 'fork of a road (or river) beset with briars.' Cp. *Briercliff* below, and see *twisla* in Pt. II. Duc. Lanc., i. p. 77, has *Brere-greve* (Derbyshire), 1530.

? Brichscrach brunn

1199. Call. Roll. Ch., p. 11.

This name appears associated with *Kelgmersberg*.
There is a Lancs. pl. n. *Killecrash*, Cockerham.

Briercliffe (Nelson)

1241-42. Brereclife : L. Inq., p. 156.
1251. Brereclive : Call. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 357.
1296. Brereclif : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 206.
1268. Brerecliue : L. A. R., p. 201.
1274. Brereclive : D. L. Comp., p. 8.

1292. Brerclive : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b*.
1305. Brerecleve : D. Lac. Comp., p. 104.

O. E., *brēr* and *clif* (q. v. Pt. II.)

Brindle

(1) 1227. Brimhill : L. F., i. p. 48.
(2) 1228. Burnehull : Whall. Ch., T. VI. Per. Lanc., p. 370.
(3) 1254. Brunhull : L. F., i. p. 116.
(4) 1300. Burnhul : L. F., i. p. 189.
(5) 1356. Burnhull : L. F., ii. p. 153.
(6) 1359. Burnehull : F. F., ii. p. 161.
(7) 1371. Burnhulle : L. F., ii. p. 180.
1584. Brindle : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 56.

The form apparently means the hill with the 'burn' or stream. The Mod. form of the first element represents an O. E. *bryn* (q. v. sub *burna* Pt. II.), only recorded in No. 1. above. The *d* is a parasitic development between *n* and *l*. The development of the form must have been :—O. E. *brýnhyll*<*brínhil(le)*<*brínille*<*brinle*<*brindle*. Form 3 represents the un-mutated form *-brun* ; 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 are from the un-mutated, and un-metathesised form *-burna*. All these pronunciations of the place once existed, all have perished but one. See *hyll* in Pt. II., and cp. *Bryning* below.

Broadhead (Darwen)

c. 1220. Bradhevet : Scar. Ch., 7, p. 261.
1257. Bradeheved : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 474.
1295. Bradehevyd : De Lac. Comp., p. 2.
1366. { Brodeheued : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., vol. ii. p. 113; also Brodheued, Alan del.

'Broad point, head, or hill.' See *brād* and *heāfod* in Pt. II.

Broadhurst (Wigan)

1532. Brodehurst : Exch. L. S., p. 31.

'Broadwood.' See *brād* and *byrst* in Pt. II.

Broadley

1228. Brodeleghbrok : Whall. Ch., T. VI., Per. Lancs., p. 372.

This form has precisely the same origin as *Bradley* (q. v.). The first element here is unshortened, which is due to the fact that an inflected form was used, *brāda, leah*, instead of the uninflected form *brādleah*, which gave *Bradley*. That this inflected form is old is shown by the M. E. form with *Brōde-*. In *Bradley* the vowel was shortened earlier than the change of *ā* to *ō*.

Broadmeadow (Angerton Moss)

1235. Bradmedwe : L. F., i. p. 70.
Late 13th c. Brademedou : Furn. Ch., p. 339.

The M. E. type is from an uninflected form, as is shown by *brad*, instead of *brōd-* (cp. preceding word). Of course *brādamædwe*, and *bradmædwe* may well have existed side by side, or the form of the first element may have been re-constructed in modern times, on the analogy of the independent word.

Broadstreet

14th c. Brettesstret : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxxxv. p. 318.

If the above be a genuine form, the Mod. name is a new creation as regards the first element, which could not possibly have developed naturally out of *Brettes-*. The latter is perhaps a pers. n. The Mod. name would correspond to O. E. *brāda stræt*. See both elements in Pt. II.

Brockholes

1227. Brochol : L. F., i. p. 53.
1249. Brochel : L. Inq., p. 177.
1252. Brocholes : L. Inq., p. 187.
1283-1300. } Brokholes : { Whall. Ch., T. III. xliii. p. 110.
1319. } { L. F., ii. p. 35.

Perhaps from *Broc*, 'badger,' and *Holh*, 'hollow, or hole' (q. v. in Pt. II.). The first element may be either the name of the animal, or it may be a shortened form of some O. E. name in *Brōc-*, or *brōc* itself. See remarks under *Brocklehurst* below, and also under *Brōc* in Pt. II.

Brocklehurst

1247. R. de Brockholhurst : L. A. R., p. 117.
1294. Brocholehurste : De Lac. Comp., p. 12.

Brockle- in this name would seem from the above spellings to mean 'badger hole,' or it may be O. E. *brōc holh*, q. v. in Pt. II. under *brōc*; see also preceding pl. n. On the other hand Napier and Stevenson point out that *Brocklesby* (Lincoln) may be from O. E. *Brōcwulf* (pers. n.), and that this is certainly the first element in *Broxstowe* (Notts.) since the D. B. forms of this name are *Brocholveston*, *Brochelston*, and *Brolveston*. See the note on *Brocheardesham*, Crawf. Ch., p. 70.

For the second element see *Hyrst*, 'a wood,' in Pt. II. below.

Bromiley

1366. Bronylegh : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 188.

'The field of broom' (?) Cp. *brōm* and *lǣh* in Pt. II. The early form, however, suggests rather a connection with O. E. *burna*, etc., 'burn' (q. v. Pt. II.).

Broughton

Type I.

1086. Broctun : D. B., 301*b*.
1196. Brocton (in Furness) : L. F., i. p. 4.
1235. Brocton (in Furness) : L. F., i. p. 60.
?1272. Broghtunbek : Furn. Ch., p. 378.
1256. Brecton (nr. Preston) : L. F., i. p. 119.
1292. Brughton : Plac. Q. Warr., 388*b*.
1303. 1337. 1378. Broghton : (Amounderness) — L. F., i. p. 201. Whall. Ch., T. vi. p. 373. L. F., iii. p. 6.

Type II.

1257. Borton : Burton : L. Inq., p. 207.

'The town on or by the brook.' See *Brōc* and *tūn* in Pt. II. For changes involved in loss of *c*, etc., cp. remarks above under *Aighton* and *Aughton*, p. 32 § 16 above, and Pt. II. loc cit. Oxfordshire *Broughton* appears as *Brotune* in D. B. The above D. B. form must be copied from an older document. Forms in Type II. are either the result of metathesis—*Brohtūn* < *Borhtūn* < *Bortun*, or entirely different formations to start with—*Burhtūn*. See *burh* in Pt. II.

Bruch (near Poulton, W. Fearnhead, Warrington)

1219. Bruches : L. F., i. p. 43.
1304. Bruche : Original R., 136*b*.
1337. Bruch : L. F., ii. p. 103.

Brunscar

1228. Brunesgare : Ch. ii. xix., L. P. R., p. 421.
(Cp. Farrer's note, L. P. R., p. 423, in which he identifies this place with Mod. *Broom Brow Wood*.)

The early form looks as though it were *Brunes gār.*, the *gore*, or spear-shaped piece of land belonging to one *Brūn*. On the other hand the first element may mean 'brown,' and the second be O. N. *sker*, 'rock' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Brunshaw [branʃə]

1535-36. Brñshay : Townley. Rnt. Rll., p. 7.

'Brown wood?' from O. E. *brūn* and *sċeaga*. For forms of *shaw* spelt *shay*, etc., cp. e.g. under *Becconsall* above and *Grimshaw* below. Or the first element may be *Brun*, 'stream.' Cp. *Burn*, *Burnden*, and *Burnely*.

Bryning

1086. Brune : D. B., 301*b*.

1189-94. Briningker : Ch. I. x., L. P. R., p. 346.

1200-01. Birstaf brining : L. P. R., 47, p. 132.

1249. Burwad Bruning : Cal. Inq. of Hen. III., p. 34, No. 143.

1252. Brunig : L. Inq., p. 190.

1320-46. Bryminge : Wap. Sur.[2], 46.

1394. Bryning : L. F., p. 43.

'The field by the bryn or stream'? See *bryn* under *Burna*, and *ing* in Pt. II. *Burwad Bruning* above, looks as if the place was originally called after a person named *Burhweard*, a name well established in O. E., and which occurs in several pl. ns. Cp. *Burwardesle* (R. De.), Cal. Inq. of Hen. III., p. 5, No. 15, and *Burwardescote*, Roll. Hund., i. p. 15, the modern *Buscot* in Berks.

***Buckle Brook**

1240-59. Boukele Brok : Ch. VI. vi., L. P. R., p. 332. [Blk. Bk. of Sir J. Byron.]

1272-1300. Buckel : Whall. Ch., T. IV. viii. p. 142.

Bulhalgh

1418. Bulhalgh : L. F., iii. p. 75.

'The bull's halh, or corner.' See *halh* in Pt. II.

Bulk

1292. } Bulk : { Plac. Q. Warr., 385.
1326. } { Lanc. Ch., 450.

1588. Bulke maner : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 50.

***Burn or Bourne** (near Thornton, Amoun. Cf. Burn Hall, Fleetw.)

1283. Brunne in Ammondernesse : L. F., p. 160.

1685-89. Burne in villa de Thornton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 38.

Cp. *burna*, etc. in Pt. II.

Burnden (Bolton)

1332. Brunden, H. de : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 45.

Either 'brown [from *Brūn*, q. v.], dean, valley,' or the first element may represent *Brun*, 'stream' (q. v.), and cp. under *Burnley* below.

Burnley

1230. Brunleya : Eccles. de, Ch. Rlls., i. p. 109.
1241-42. Bronley : L. Inq., p. 156.
1251. Brunley : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 357.
1292. Brumley : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b*.
1296. } Brunlay : { Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 206.
1342. } { Whall. Ch., T. v. xc. p. 325.
1298. Brunley : De Lac. Comp., p. 8 and passim.
1305. Bronelay : De Lac. Comp., p. 117.

'The field by the burn.' See *Brun*, and *leāh* in Pt. II. In the spelling *Bron- o* is merely a graphic expression of the *u*-sound. Cp. p. 20 § 2(1) above. It is curious that the unmetathesised form is so common in M. E., whereas the Mod. official form shows metathesis. Cp. *Burn*, *Burnden*, *Brunshaw* above.

Burrow

1086. Borch : D. B., 301*b*.
1587. Burrowe : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 51.

Simply the *burh* or fortress, then the hamlet which sprang up round it. See *burh* in Pt. II. *Borch* if from the nom., *Burrowe* from oblique cases.

Burscough [bʌrskə]

1189-96. Burscogh : Ch. I., xi., L. P. R., p. 349.
c. 1200. Burscough : Scar. Ch. 6, p. 261.
1235. Burescho : L. F., i. p. 60.
1247. Birscogh : L. A. R., p. 35.
1241. Burschehou : L. F., i. p. 84.
1260. } Burschoh : { Scar. Ch., 16.
1283. } Burschou : { Scar. Ch., 15, 264.
{ L. Inq., p. 259.
1286. Burscho : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 330.
1296. Burschogh : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 204.
1312. Burscogh : Call. Cl. R., 494.
1320-40. Burschoghe : Wap. W. Der. Survey, 46.
1376. Burscogh : L. F., ii. p. 190.

TYPE II.

1292. Burskew : Plac. Q. Warr., 370,
1306. Burscow : Scar. Ch., 46, 274.
1535-43. Bruscow : Leland, v. p. 40.

'The wood by the *burh* or citadel or town.' See *burh* and

skōgr (O. N.) in Pt. II. In Type II. (1) we have apparently the influence of English equivalent, M. E. *schāwe*, 'shaw,' in the second element. II. (2) has the Scand. *skōgr*, but the final *w* shows that the form is derived from an inflected case.

Burtonhead (near Prescot)

1325. Burtonheued : L. C. R., p. 85.
1438. Burtonhed : L. F., iii. p. 103.

Presumably *burh-tūn-hēafod*, that is the hill or peak by the tūn or farmstead near the fortified place or citadel.

Burtonwood

1228. Burtonwod : Whall. Ch., T. vi., Per. Lanc., p. 372.
1270. Burtoneswod, Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 135.
1332. Burtunwode : L. F., ii. pp. 83 and 85.
1388. Burtonwode : L. F., iii. p. 32.
1459. Burton Wode : L. F., iii. p. 122.

See preceding name, and the elements there mentioned, and *wudu* in Pt. II.

Bury

1190. Bur : Whall. Ch., T. ii. xviii. p. 49.
1247. {Byri : / Biri :} L. A. R., pp. 14, 30.
1230. / 1271. Bury : {Whall. Ch., T. ii. xxix. p. 60. / Whall. Ch., T. ii. xv. p. 148.}
?1292. Burgh : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1295. Byry : De Lac. Comp., p. 5.

'The citadel.' The Mod. form represents the O. E. dat. sing. See *burh* in Pt. II.

Butterworth

1235. Buterwrth : L. F., i. p. 68.
1262. Butterworthe : L. F., i. p. 136.
1278. Botreworth : L. F., i. p. 154.
1288. Butterword : Whall. Ch., T. iv. xxx. p. 161.
1311. Butterworth : De Lac. Inq., 20.

Literally, 'butter farm,' referring no doubt to the dairy industry pursued there. O. E. *butere* and *worþ* (q. v. in Pt. II.)

Byrom

1294. J. de Byrun : De Lac. Comp., p. 6.
1594. Byrom : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 62.

'At the byres, or cowhouses.' Dat. pl. of O. E. *bȳre* (q. v. in Pt. II.). Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 274, quotes O. E. *to middel bȳrum*, from Birch. Ch., 2, 519.

C

Cadishead [kɛrised]

Type I.

(1) 1212. Cadwalesate : Gt. Inq. ; L. Inq., p. 66.
(2) Cadwallisete : Whall. Ch., T. v. xlii. p. 254.
(3) 1329. Cadwalesate : T. de N., 405.
(4) Cadwalsete : T. de N., 409.

Type II.

1316-17. Caduelheued : Rnt. Rll. of E. of Lancs, cit. Baines, vol. i. p. 369.
1402. Cadwallesheved : Recog. Rlls. p. 38.
1478 ? Cadewallesheued : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 337.

'The seat—*sæte* of *Cadwalla*.' No 2 is the best spelling, as O. E. *æ* became *e* in M. E. Type II. shows variants with M. E. *hēued*, O. E. *hēafod*. There would be little difference in the fifteenth century pronunciation between *-sēte*, and *hēued* after genitive in *s*, the second syllable of a compound, as both would be shortened by absence of stress, and the latter would lose its aspirate. *-heued* in Type II. is no doubt a mere etymological spelling, which, as is so often the case, happens to be wrong. The mod. spelling embodies the same etymological error.

Calder [kōdər]

1294. Kelder : De Lac. Comp., 18.
1316. Caldra : Furn. Ch., ii. 638, 9.
1552-53 : Calder : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 272.

Cant Beck (Tunstall)

1202. Kant : L. F., i. p. 15.

Cantsfield

Type I.

1241. Cauncefeud : L. F., i. pp. 148-49.
1245. 1252. Cauncefeld : L. F. ., i. p. 113.
1269. Furn. Ch., p. 463.
1292. Cauncefelde : Furn. Ch., p. 313.
Cauntefeud : Cauntefeld : Plac. Q. Warr., 374.
1332. Caunsfeld : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 96.

TYPE II.

1202. Canceveld : L. F., i. p. 15.
1245.
1249. } Cancefelde : { Furn. Ch., p. 259.
Furn. Ch., p. 408.
1263-72. Cancefeld : Lanc. Ch., 23.
1269. Canxfelde : Furn. Ch., p. 445.

Capernwray

(1) 1228. Coupenwra : Whall. Ch., T. VI., Per. Lanc., p. 370.
(2) 1235. Copenewra : L. F., i. p. 71.
(3) 1246-48. Copmanwra : L. Inq., p. 169.
(4) 1263-72.
1319. } Coupmanwra : { Lanc. Ch., 27.
L. F., ii. p. 32.
(5) *circa* 1300. Coupmanwar : Lanc. Ch., p. 150.
1508-09. Capanray : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 12.

(N.B.—The form *Kouffemoneswra* in Index of T. de N. is an error, the text has *Koupmoneswra* [407]).

The ' merchant's corner.' See *Kaupman* and *vrā* (both Scand.) in Pt. II. Nos. 3, 4, 5 are the best forms. 1 and 2 suggest ' market corner,' which name may, of course, have been used alongside of the other. Cp. *Chipping* and references there given for the English equivalents of *Kaupa*, *Kaupman -maðr*, etc. in Lancs. Pl. Names.

Copmanford, called also *Coppingford* occurs in Hunts., which in D. B. was *Copemaneford* ; Ramsay Chartulary *Copmanforde* (Skeat, Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 326). Yorks. *Copmanthorpe* is written *Coupmanthorp* in K.'s Inq., p. 24, etc., and as *Copmonistorp* in Plac. Abbrev., p. 97 (temp. Ric. I. or John). I note now that Björkman has evidence that *Copman* was used as a pers. n., and of its occurrence in Engl. documents (N. Pers. N. in England, p. 86). The T. de N. form above rather points to the first element being felt as such in this name.

Carleton

1086. Carlentun : D. B., 301*b*.
1256. { Karleton :
Carleton : } Lanc. Ch., 55, 54.
1292. Carlton : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.

The first element is the O. N. pers. n. *Karl*, or as the D. B. form indicates, for the weak form *Karla*, on which see Björkman pp. 76, 77. The second element is O. E. *tūn* (q. v. Pt. II.).

Carnforth

1086. Chreneforde : D. B., 311*b*.
1301. Kerneford : L. F., i. p. 214.
1326. Kerneford : Original. Rlls., 231*b*.
1346. Cornford : Wap. Sur.[2], 82.
1356. Carnford : Furn. Ch., p. 371.
1216. / 1307. Corneford : Test. de Nev., 408.

The modern suffix *-forth* is the Scand. equivalent of O. E. *ford*, which appears in the early forms. See these elements in Pt. II. I cannot explain the first element.

Carr

1292. Kar : Whall. Ch., p. 118.

'The wood' or 'swamp.' See O. N. *Kjarr* in Pt. II.

Cartmel

1187. Carmel : / Kertmel : / Cartmel : } L. P. R., { 34, p. 66. / 34, p. 68. / 40, p. 75.
1201. Kermel : / 1206. Kermell : } Lanc. Ch., 152, 263.
1208. Cartmell : L. F., i. p. 39.
1208. Kermel (three times) : Plac. Abbrev., p. 57.
1250. Cartmel : / Kartmel : } L. F., i. p. 111.
1280. / 1292. Kestmel : { Scar. Ch., 30. / Plac. Q. Warr. 376*b*.
1332. Kartmall : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 25.
1346. Kartmel : Wap. Sur.[3], 62.
1372. Cartemelle, J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii. p. 140.
1508-09. Carpmell : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 10.
1535-43. Cartemaile : Leland, iv. p. 11.

The second element is O. N. *melr*, 'sandbank.' Cartmel is situated on or amidst sandhills, and, according to Baines (Hist. of Lancs., Ed. Croston, 1893, vol. v. p. 426), two guides were appointed by the Prior at a very early date to conduct travellers over the sands. The only suggestion I can make concerning the first element is that it may be O. N. *Kerti*, 'candle or link,' cp. the compound *kerti-sveinn* (Cleasby-Vigf.) 'link-boy.' It is possible that the place may have been so named either because there was a beacon light there, or because torches or links were obtainable at that spot for the use of travellers ? The early forms show some interesting sound changes, e.g., the loss of *t* before *m*, in several cases, and in 1508, what is quite probably a genuine pronunciation, an assimilation of *t* to *p* before *m*.

Castleton (Rochdale)

1246. Castelton : L. A. R., pp. 74 and 76.
1295. Caselton : L. F., i. p. 179.
1311. Castleton : De Lac. Inq., 20.

Catlow [kætlə], J. H. H.

1242-43. Katlauhe : Scut. of Gasc., L. Inq., p. 150.
1305. Catlou (R. de) : De Lac. Comp., 83.
1313. Cattelawe : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxxviii. p. 313.
1317. Cattelowe : L. F., ii. p. 25.

'Cat's mound,' or 'hill,' for second element see *hlæw*, etc. The first element is almost certainly a pers. n. ; the O. N. is *Kati* (cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. Names, p. 157), whence we have N. *Katte cross*, *Katterud* : see also under *Catterall* below. One or two O. E. names of this kind are recorded by Searle—*Catta*, which appears to be a form of *Ceatta*, and *Catto*. *Catshill* in Staffs. appears as *Catteslowe* in the fourteenth century, and as '*Catteslowe, alias Catteshill*' in the fifteenth. Cp. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Names, p. 34, who, as usual, refers to no documents. This appears to be the same as *Catlow*. We have apparently the O. E. pers. n. *Catt* in the following :—*ofer cattes flēot* (C. D., v. p. 334 (956)) ; *at Cattesstoke* in a M. E. version of a ch. of Æðelstan's (C. D., v. p. 236) ; *Cætesðurne*, Wulfric's Will, 1002 (C. D., vi. p. 148), and in the following, the weak form *Catta*, gen. *Cattan*, *Cattanege* (C. D., iii. p. 466). Of course, it is possible that *Catlow* means not the 'burial mound of Catt,' but a hill or mound frequented by wild cats. Cp. *wulfhleoþu*, 'wolf-haunted slopes,' Beow., 1395. See also *Catt.* in Pt. II.

Caton

1184-85. Caton : } L. P. R., 31, p. 56 and passim.
1185-86. Catton : } L. P. R., 32, p. 60.
1233 : Katton : L. F., i. p. 58.

Catterall [kɑtərə]

1086. Catrehala : D. B., 301*b*.
1206-30. Cateral : Cockrsnd Ch., p. 273.
1244. Katirhale : L. Inq., p. 159.
1272. Katreale : Cal. Anc. Dds., ii. p. 462, No. C. 1912.
1293. Caturhale : L. F., i. p. 176.
1305. Caterhale : L. F., i. p. 214.
1348. Caterall : Furn. Ch., p. 353.
1327-77. Caterale : Furn. Ch., p. 355.

The early forms suggest *halh* as the second element (q. v. in Pt. II.). The first element is an O. N. pers. n. (cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. Ns., 1291). There is a Norwegian pl. n. *Katralen*, of which the old forms are *Kattarhali*, *Kattehale* (cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. Ns., i. p. 44). This is apparently identical with the Lancs. name. The *-r-* in this case is the Norse gen. sing. See examples of the O. E. name *Catt* in pl. names under *Catlow* above. On the O. N. pers. n. *Kati*, cp. now also Björkman, N. Pers. Names, p. 78.

Cawood

1230. Cawude : Cl. Rlls., iii. 376.
1346. Kawode : Wap. Sur.[3], 66.
1437. Cawod : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 24.

'Calf-wood' ?

The first element might conceivably be a Norse pers. n., the full form of which was *Kaki*, but which is shortened to *Kaa*. Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., i. p. 362) gives *Kaaböl*, older *Kakabole*, and *Kaafell*, p. 85, but remarks (O. N. Pers. Ns., p. 152) that *Kaki* is rare. For second element see *wudu* in Pt. II. For loss of *-k-* before following cons., cp. *Gawthorpe* from *Gaukthorp*. The D. B., Kirkby's Inquest, and Knts.' Fees forms of the Yorks. *Cawood* throw no light, and I cannot find any record in English documents of the existence of the name *Kaki* applied to a person in this country. *Cakebould* and *Cakemore* in Worcs., regarding which Duignan can offer no suggestion, may possibly contain the name. This is slight evidence to go upon.

A better known Norse pers. n. was *Kalfr* (Rygh, Gamle Pers. Ns., p. 152), and this name seems to occur in a good many Norse pl. ns. I find no record in Searle of any such name in England in the earliest period, but Robertus *Caluus* appears as an under-tenant in D. B. at the formation of the survey in Cambr., and Willielmus *Calvus* in the same capacity in Glos. (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 300). Of course these names may be the Latin word for 'bald.' The name would certainly appear to have existed in England however, for the Yorks. *Cawton* occurs in D. B. as *Caluetun* (16*b*, 84*b*), and in Kirkby's Inq. as *Calveton*. See Index to K.'s Inq., p. 497. The same pers. n. is, perhaps, the first element of Yorks. *Cawthorne*, which appears in D. B., 5*b*, 70*b* as *Caltorn*, and in K.'s Inq. as *Calthorne*. See Index loc. cit.

There is no difficulty whatever about the prefix *cealf-*, *calf-* in itself in O. E. pl. n. (for examples see this element in Pt. II.). There are several names beginning thus in the O. E. Ch., but owing to the absence of evidence for this word as a man's name

in the O. E. period, we regard it in these cases as the name of the animal. There is no valid reason why we should not assume an early form **Calfewudu* for *Cawood*, and regard it as meaning 'calf wood.' The word *cealfhanggra*, 'calf wood,' which occurs in a Ch. of Edgar of 967 (C. D., iii. p. 14) is rather interesting in this connection. Cp. also the names *Coupe*, etc., below, which contain *cow-* as the first element. The result of this discussion is that the evidence is in favour of *calf-* as the first element rather than *Kaki*; and further it is more probable that in this case the prefix refers to the animal. Compare with our difficulties in deciding whether we are dealing with the name of a man or an animal, the discussion under *Catlow* above, of the meaning of its first element.

Chadderton

1190. Chaderton : Whall. Ch., T. II. xviii. p. 49.
1278. Chadreton : L. F., i. p. 153.
1216-1307. Chaderton : T. de N., 399*b*.
1420. Chaderton : Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. p. 495, C. 2222.

Is the first element the pers. n. *Ċeadd* (cp. two following names) with the Norse gen. suffix *-ar* instead of the Engl. *-es* ?

Chadsworth (estate in township of Pendlebury)

1212. Chadeswrthe : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 68.
T. de N., 405b.

The 'worth' or 'homestead' of Chadd. See *wurþ* in Pt. II.

Chadwick

1329. Chadewyke : Whall. Ch., T. v. xiii., p. 160.
1369. Chadewyk : L. F., ii. pp. 175, 176.

The 'wick' or abode of *Chadd*. See former word in Pt. II. and examples of name *Chadd* under *Chadsworth*, and *Chadderton*. The early forms above look like weak genitives (O. E. **Ċeaddan-*). If so the double cons. of the original would prevent lengthening, which we should have had in M. E. if the O. E. had been **Ċeadan-*.

Chaigeley

1437. Chawgeley : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 24.
1514. Chageley : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 18.

Chappels (near Blackburn)

Chapples : T. de N., 404*b*.

Charnock

(1) 1193-94. Chernock : L. P. R., p. 78.
(2) 1252. Chernhoc : L. Inq., p. 189.
1263-72. Chernoc, R. de : Lanc. Ch., 23.
(3) 1324. Chernok : L. F., ii. p. 57.
1424-25. Chernok : L. F., iii. p. 123.

If we may take No. 2 seriously, the name may mean the ' hook ' or ' corner ' or ' retreat ' of Charn—O. E. *Ċearn* or *Ċeorn*. See *hōc* in Pt. II. The second element may, however, be O. E. *nōk*, 'nook' (q. v.). *Ċearna graf* occurs in a Ch. of 959 (C. D., vi. p. 8), and *Ċearninga ġemǣre* in one of 958 (C. D., v. p. 396). There is also a pers. n. *Ceorn* found in *Ceornei* (C. D., i. p. 270), dated 821, now *Charney Basset* in Berks. The above M. E. spelling *Chern* might represent O. E. *Ċearn*, or *Ċeorn*, though it would be a more normal representative of the latter.

Chatburn

1241-42. 1292. 1296. Chatteburn : L. Inq. : p. 156. Plac. Q. Warr, 381*b*. Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 205.
1383. Chateborn : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxxviii. p. 312.

The ' burn ' or stream of *Ċeat(t)*. See *burna* in Pt. II. and the pers. n. discussed under *Chetham* below.

Cheesden

1624-65. Cheesden : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 89.

Chetham

1235. Chetham : L. F., i. p. 59.
1231-61. Chetham : Whall. Ch., T. II. xix. p. 50.
1312. Cheteham : L. F., ii. p. 9.

The *hām* of *ċeat(t)a* or *ċet(t)a*, *Cēttwuda*, *Chetwood*, Bucks. is found C. D., ii. p. 292, ann. 949. Professor Skeat (Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 21) assumes **Ċett* as the first element in *Chettisham*, and quotes *Ċettan trēo* from C. D., iii. p. 380, as illustrating the weak form of this pers. n. The 1312 form is, perhaps, a genuine weak gen. (O. E. *ċeatan*), in which case the pronunciation [tʃītəm) is normal.

Chew

1325. Cho : L. F., ii. p. 60.
Choo : L. F., ii. p. 63.

Childwall [*tʃildə]

TYPE I.

1090. Kydewell : Lanc. Ch., 9.
11th c. Cheldewell : Lanc. Ch., 13.
1177. de Chillewelle : L. P. R., 24, p. 38.
Childewell : } T. de N., 408.
Childewelle : } T. de N., 399*b*.
1408. Childewell : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 196.

TYPE II.

1224. Childewal : L. F., i. p. 45.
1238. Chaldewall : L. F., i. p. 76.
1330. Childewalle : L. F., ii. p. 78.
1320-46. Childwall : Wap. Sur.[3], 42.

The first element may possibly be O. E. *cild*, ' child,' also used as a title applied to princes of the blood. As an example of this word in a pl. n., cp. *Childwick* (Herts), from O. E. *Cildeswic* (Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 54), and *Child's Wickham* (Glos.) The second element is O. E. *well*, *welle*, ' spring ' (q. v. Pt. II.), which as in the forms of *Aspinall* has been confused with O. E. *weall*. In this case the meaning of the name would be ' Prince's spring.' The forms in *Cheld-*, *chald* are, however, against this.

What appears, however, to me a better solution of the first element, is that suggested by Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 299, who assumes an O. E. word **ċild*, *ċeld*, which does not appear as an independent word, but which he finds in *Bapchild* (Kt.), earlier *Baccancelde* (Birch Ch. ? J.'s reference is unintelligible to me), and in *Cildebergas* (Kt. Birch, 2, 18). This word Jellinghaus takes to mean ' a sudden burst of water from a hill,' and he connects it with O. N. *Kelda*, ' spring ' (q. v. Pt. II.). The form **ċild* would have to be explained as from **keldi-*, and **ċeld* from **kelda-*. This assumed element would square with the *child-* and *cheld-* forms of our name. *Chalde-* of 1238 must, I think, be influenced by the Anglian *cāld*, ' cold,' as regards its vowel. If we accept the reality of *ċild*, *ċeld*, we shall interpret *childwell* as meaning ' the sudden-leaping spring,' or something of the kind. The variations in both elements seem to show that their meaning was very early forgotten. Harrison (Liverpool District Pl. Ns. takes the first element to be O. N. *Kelda*, but omits to explain how the initial sound came to be fronted in English.

Chippendale

1102. in Cepndela : Ch. I. xv., L. P. R., p. 382.
?1230. Chepyngdale :
1241. Chypping[dale] : Plac. Abbrev., p. 110 ; Chyppindal : ibid., p. 111.
1292. Chipindale : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1389. Chipyndale : L. F., iii. p. 35.
1396. Chypyndale : L. F., iii. p. 49.

See Napier and Stevenson's note on *Chippenham* from *Ċyppanham*, cited under *ċēāp*, etc., Pt. II. The above may be *Ċyppan del*, ' the dell of *Ċyppa* ' ; see next word. Note in the earliest of the above forms, the scribes use of *c* for *ch-* sound, before *e*.

Chipping

1313. Chipyn : L. F., ii. p. 14.
1327. Chepyn : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 106.
1342. Chypyne : L. F., ii. p. 115.
1377. Chepyn : L. F., iii. p. 2.
1605. Chepin, J. Bayliffe of : Rich. Wills., p. 25.
1664. Chipping, Bee of : Rich. Wills, p. 27.

This can hardly be a pers. n. because pers. ns. do not occur uncompounded as pl. ns. as a rule ; also the form would be difficult to account for. The Mod. form would suggest an O. E. ' *cēping*,' ' market ' (q. v. Pt. II.), but the above fourteenth century forms are against this. I must leave the matter unsettled.

Chisnall

1325. Chisenale : L. C. R., p. 118.
1332. Chisenhale : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 48.
1385. Chesynhale : L. F., iii. p. 25.
1388. Chisenhale : L. F., iii. p. 31.

There is an element *ċis-*, recognised by Middendorff (p. 27), in O. E., which occurs in *Ċisburn*. This M. identifies with O. H. G., *kies*, ' gravel,' ' shingle,' cognate with the longer O. E. form *ċis-il*, *ċeos-ol*, etc., which is the ordinary O. E. word for ' gravel,' etc. May we assume another form of this root **ċisen*, **ċesen* ? If so the above name might = ' gravel halh.' See *halh* in Pt. II.

There is, however, a pers. n. *Cissa* recorded by Searle as occurring at least half a dozen times in O. E. documents. The compound *Cissanham* is also mentioned by him (C. D., 658).

Chorley

1251. Cherles : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 373.
1251. Cherlegh : L. F., i. p. 112.
1295. Chorleye : L. F., i. p. 178.
1310. Chorlegh : L. F., ii. p. 4.
1320-46. Chorleghe : Wap. Sur., 42.
1324. / 1372. Chorley : L. F., ii. p. 57. / Furn. Ch., p. 168.

The first element is probably O. E. *ċeorla* (gen. pl.), on which see next word. The second element is O. E. *lēah*, which see in Pt. II.

Chorlton Cum Hardy upon Medlock

1176-77. Cherleton : L. P. R., 23, p. 36.
1196. Cherlton : L. F., i. p. 6.
1201-02. Chelton (=*Cherlton) : L. P. R. , 48, p. 152.
1202. de Charlton : / Cherleton : L. F., i. p. 14.
1292. Cherlton : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1332. Chorleton : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 35.
1336. Chollerton : L. F., ii. p. 99.

Perhaps ' churls' tūn.' See *ċeorl* and *tūn* in Pt. II. The M. E. spelling *ċherle-* would correspond to the O. E. gen. pl. *ċeorla*. Had the first element been a pers. n., we should rather expect M. E. *Cherles-*, etc., but this is not necessarily the case. The proper name *Ċeorl* is fairly frequent in O. E., and the form *Ċearl* also occurs (cp. Searle). The name *Chorley* Wood occurs in Herts, and *Charlton* in Beds. Skeat takes the first element in both cases as the gen. pl. (cp. Skeat's Pl. Names of Herts. and Beds. respectively). On the other hand Duignan takes *Chorlton* (Staffs.), which in D. B. is also *Cerletūn* and *Chorley* in same county, to contain the pers. n. On the whole, I agree with Skeat.

Chowbent [tʃaubent]

1641-42. Cholbent : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 105.
1685-89. Chowebent : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 303.

' The bent-land of *Ċēōl*.'

The form *Cholbent* is very late, but it may well be based upon a genuine early document, and represent a traditional spelling, and in this case we are justified in assuming the first element to be the O. E. pers. n. *Ċeola* or *Ċēōl*. Cp. *Cēōlesiġe*, C. L., ii. p. 352 (996-1006), *Cholsey*, Berks. For the second element of *Chowbent*, see O. E. *beonet* in Pt. II.

Claife

1337. Clayf : Furn. Ch., p. 173.
1401. —— Furn. Ch., p. 205.

Claughton [klæftn]

TYPE I.

1086. Clactune : D. B., 301*b* (Amonderness).
1208. Clacton : L. F., i. p. 33 (Amonderness).
1230. Clacton : Lanc. Ch., 164.
1311. Clackton : De Lac. Comp., 22 (Birkdale).

TYPE II.

1208. Clahton : L. F., i. p. 33 (Amonderness).
1230. Claghton, Rob. de : Lanc. Ch., 154.
1287. Clagherton, Will de : Lanc. Ch., 347.
1328. } Claghton : { L. F., ii. p. 74 (Lonsdale).
1388. } { L. F., iv. p. 30 (Garstang).
1397. Claghton, H. de : Preston G. Rlls., p. 3.

TYPE III.

1241. Clauton : L. F., i. p. 85 (Lonsdale).

TYPE IV.

Clatton : T. de N., 404.

TYPE V.

Ante 1372. Cloghtona : Furn. Ch., p. 225.

The ' tūn of *Clac*,' on which pers. n. see Björkman, p. 81. There is, however, no evidence produced by B. for believing this to be a Scand. name.

Clayton

1194-95. Cleiton : L. P. R., p. 90.
1202. Henry de Cleiton : L. F., p. 151.
1251. } Clayton : { Whall. Ch., T. III. vi. p. 77.
1284. } { L. F., i. p. 162.
1422. } { L. F., iii. p. 81.

The ' tūn ' on the clay. See *Clǣġ* and *tūn* in Pt. II.

Clegg (Littleboro')

1271-79. Clegh : Whall. Ch., T. IV. xv. p. 148.
1272-1300. Cleg : Whall. Ch., T. IV. viii. p. 142.
1325. de Clegge : L. C. R., p. 149.

Cleveley

1687. Clevelee : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 302.

' The lee by the cliff ' ? The vowel in this pl. n. goes back to

the O. E. *eo* of the *cleof*-type, M. E. *clēve-*. See O. E. *clīfu*, etc., in Pt. II.

Clifton

1185-86.
1257. } Clifton : { L. P. R., 32, p. 59.
1290. } { L. F. , i. p. 130.
{ Whall. Ch., T. I. xxv. p. 25.

1280. Clyfton : L. F., i. p. 157.

The ' tūn ' on or by the cliff. See both words in Pt. II.

Clitheroe

1175-76. Cliderhous : L. P. R., 22, p. 32.
1230. Cliderho : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 109.
1235. Cliderhow : L. F., i. p. 59.
1251. Cliderho : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 357.
1255. Clider how : L. F., i. p. 118.
1256. Clyderhow: L. F., i. p. 123.
1296. Childerhow : Orig. Rlls., 97.
1311. Cliderow : L. F., ii. p. 6.
1318. Cliderhowe : Lanc. Ch., p. 495.
1361. Clyderhowe : J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii., p. 346.
1365. Cliderowe : L. F., ii. p. 170.
1441. Clytherawe : L. F., iii. p. 108.

The second element is the common *hough*, or *how*, O. E. *hōh* (q. v. Pt. II.). As to the first the only suggestion I can offer is that it is related to O. E. *clūd*, ' a rock,' being a mutated form—O. E. **clȳder-*, ' rocky,' or something of the kind. There seems to be no other pl. n. with this first element, though the unmutated *clūd* appears in several pl. ns. :—*to Cludesleghe* in the boundaries of a Ch. (C. D., iii. p. 410), and *Cloud End*, the termination of the Biddulf Moor Hill range, Chesh. Müller (Namen d. Northumbr., Liber Vitae, p. 113) derives the first element in the pers. n. *Clȳduini* from a base **clūdi*. The suffix in the form *Clytherawe* may be due to confusion with O. E. *haga* (q. v.). M. E. *hawe*.

Cliviger

1195-96. Clivercher : L. F., p. 2.
1258. Clyvicher : Cal. Inq. Hen. III., p. 116, No. 413.
1294. Clyvacher : Cal. Cl. Rlls., ii. p. 436.
1296. Clyuacher : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi., p. 206.
1311. Clineacre (*n* for *u* ?) : Cal. Cl. Rlls., p. 315.

The form of 1311 suggest the simple ' cliff acre,' but the earlier forms as well as the Mod. form are dead against this.

Clough { near Oldham / near Littleboro', three places / and Nelson

1332. Clogh, Robt. del : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 50.

'Valley.' O. E., *clōh* (q. v. Pt. II.). Mod. : (klaf) is from the uninflected type.

Clougha [kləfə Br.]

1228. Cloghou : Whall. Ch., T. vi., Per. Lanc., p. 371.
1228. Clochehoc : Ch. ii. xix., L. P. R., p. 421.
1311. } Clogh : { De Lac. Inq., 6.
1338. } { Whall. Ch., T. v. xlix. p. 280.

'The hill by the valley.' The first element is that of preceding name, the second O. E. *hōh* (q. v. Pt. II.).

Clow Bridge (near Fleetwood)

1235. Clouwes : L. F., i. p. 70.

Clow is a form of *clough*, derived from the inflected forms of the O. E. *clōh* (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Cockden (Nelson)

1236-42. Kokerdene : Penworth. Ch. ii.

The first element may be a Norse pers. n. with the gen. suffix. I cannot, however, find any reference to such a N. name as *Kok*, or *Kōk*. The O. E. pers. n. *Cocca* occurs in the locality *Coccanburh*, cited by Searle from C. D. : it occurs also in Æðelflæd's Will (Thorpe's Diplomatar., p. 523, c. 972, *Cochanfeld*, *Cocksfield*, Suff.). We might have assumed this pers. n. in *Cockden*, but for the thirteenth century form. The prefix *cock-* is not uncommon in pl. ns., but its meaning is doubtful. See remarks under **coc* in Pt. II. below. The second element is O. E. *denu*, 'valley' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Cockenshell (Barrow-in-Furness)

1370. Cokamscalis : Furn. Ch., p. 145.

'*Cocca's hut.*' The first element is apparently the gen. case of the pers. n. *Cocca* (q. v. under *Cockden*). The original of the second element is O. E. *scalu*, 'shell,' then 'building,' through the influence of O. N. *skāli*. See *scealu*, *scalu* in Pt. II.

Cockerham

1086. Cocrehā : D. B., 332*a*.
1206. Cokerheim : L. F., i. p. 20.
ante 1272. Kokerhame : Furn. Ch., p. 467.
1370. Cokyrham : L. F., ii. p. 185.
1373. Cokirhame : Furn. Ch., p. 169.

For the first element see remarks under *Cockden*. The second is clearly O. E. *hām* (q. v. in Pt. II.), as the Norse spelling *heim* shows.

Cockersand

1213-15. Cocressand : L. P. R., 61, p. 249.
1236-42. Kokersond : Pr. Pen., 11.
1246. { Cokersand : / Kokersand : } L. F., i. p. 105.
1262. Cokersaund : L. F., i. p. 135.

The first element is perhaps the gen. of an O. N. pers. n., *Kōk* or *Kok*, as in *Cockden* and *Cockerham* (q. v.). See also *sand* in Pt. II.

Cockleach (Ribchester)

1630. Cocklach : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 92.

Cp. also Cockelacke : Duc. Lanc., i. 61 (Yorks.), 1594.

The first element here is apparently the somewhat mysterious **coc* referred to in Pt. II. See the remarks and suggestions there offered. If **coc* can mean a narrow valley, etc., the *Cockleach* 'a stream running through a narrow valley.' See for second element *lǣċe* in Pt. II.

Cockridge (Nelson)

Kokerig : T. de N., 397.

? 'Hill ridge.' Skeat mentions, under *cock* (of hay, etc.), Dan. *kok*, 'heap,' Swed. *koka*, 'clod of earth,' and Icel. *kökkr* which is explained by Cleasby-Vigf. as 'a lump,' *e.g.* in badly-stirred porridge, in the throat and the like.' It is surely possible that such a word as this, which is used for a heap of hay, might be extended in meaning to a mound or hillock of earth. This may be the sense in several pl. ns., where the element occurs. Cp. remarks of Napier and Stevenson on *cocc*, cited in Pt. II.

Cockshotts Wood

1377-99. Cokeshoteslace : Furn. Ch., p. 403.

Coldcoats

1258. Caldecotis : L. Inq., p. 213.
1298. Coldecotes : Whall. Ch., T. v. xxi.
1321. Caldecotes, H. de : L. F., ii. p. 40.
1332. Coldecotes : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 86.

Literally 'cold huts.' The first element has, perhaps, the same force as in *Cold Harbour*, which meant, says Skeat, 'a wayside refuge, where one could obtain shelter, but no fire or food' (Herts. Pl. Names, p. 68). See O. E. *cot* in Pt. II. There is a *Caldecote* in Herts., which name Skeat takes to mean 'that the original settler's cot was in a bleak situation' (Herts Pl. Ns., p. 19).

Colloway Marsh (Morec.)

1332. Collay : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 24. (Is this the same place ?)

Colne [kɑun]

1230. Calna : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 109.
1251. Caune : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 357.
1327. Colñ : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 106.
1332. Colne : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 85.
1443. Colne : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 2.

Colton

1332. Colton : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 91.
1337. Colton : Furn. Ch., p. 173.

'The tun of *Kollr* or *Coll*.' This name said by Björkman (p. 84) to be O. Swed., but as *Col* occurs in English coins and charters from the middle of the ninth century, this pers. n. may surely be English also.

Conder (River)

1228. Gondouere (three times) : Ch. II. xix., L. P. R., p. 421.

The second element appears to be O. E. *ofer*, 'bank of a river' (q. v. in Pt. II.). On the first element I can only surmise that it may possibly be a greatly shortened form of *Gunnhildr*. Cp. the old forms of and remarks on *Cunliffe* below. The *o* instead of *u* is quite a normal M. E. spelling, especially in the neighbourhood of *n*. See p. 20, § 2 (1) above.

Conishead

1180-4. } Cuningesheued : { Ch. I., xii. ; L. P. R., p. 357.
1235. } { L. F., i. p. 63.
1197. Coneghesheved : Cal. of Ch. D. of L., No. 81, p. 171.
?1200. Coni[n]geshevede : Furn. Ch., 420.

?1246. Cunni[n]geshevede : Furn. Ch., p. 348.
1276. Cuniishevid : Cal. of Ch. D. of L., No. 59, p. 168.
1306. Conyngesheved : Orig. Rlls., 152.
1340. Conyngeshevede : Furn. Ch., p. 426.
Conyngeshed : Furn. Ch., p. 424.

'King's head,' or 'peak.' The first element is Norse *Konungr* and not O. E. *cyning*. See *Konungr*, sub *cyning*, and *hēafod* in Pt. II. Doubtless the O. E. word has influenced the Norse form, in the above early spellings.

Coniston [kunistn]

1147-67. / 1157-63. Coningeston : Furn. Ch., 341. / Ch. IX., iv., L. P .R., p. 311.
1196. Koningeston : L. F., i. p. 4. / Furn. Ch., p. 17.
1216-72. Conyngeston : Furn. Ch., p. 2.
1311. Conyngeston, J. de : Cal. Cl. Rlls., 365.
1337. Kunyngeston : Furn. Ch., p. 173.
1401. Cunigestun : Furn. Ch., p. 346 and 347.
1404. Cuningeston : Furn. Ch., p. 351.

'King's town.' The first element is Norse. See preceding word.

Conyers (in Yealand C.) [jɛlənd kunjəz]

1228. Coyneres, Will de : Cl. Rll., iii. 55.
1300. Coygners, W. de : L. F., i. p. 191.

This is a French (Norman ?) pl. n. Bardsley gives the French form as *Coigniers*. He quotes Lower, who says that Roger de Coigniers came to England about the end of the reign of William the Conqueror, and received from the Bishop of Durham the constableship of that place. The family gave its name to Howton Coigniers, Yorks. Cp. Bardsley's Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 201.

The above spelling is obviously based upon the original French.

Coppul

1213-15. Cophill : L. P. R., 61, p. 251.
1282. Copphul : L. Inq., p. 250.
1332. Coppehull : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 49.
1497. Coppol : L. F., iii. p. 146.

This name is really pleonastic. since both elements mean pretty much the same thing. The first is O. E. *coppa*, 'summit, peak, hill,' the second is O. E. *hyll*, 'hill.' See these elements in Pt. II.

Copthurst (Burnl.)

1332. Copped hurst : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 77.

'The hurst or wood which has been topped or pollarded.' O. E. *copped* a participial form from *cop*, 'top, summit,' occurs in O. E. Charters, applied to trees. *To þan coppedan þorne* (939), C. D., v. p. 28; *on þa coppedan ac* (900), Thorpe's Diplomatar., p. 145. Both of these are quoted by B. T. I may further note the name *Copdock* (Suffolk), 'pollard oak,' cp. the forms *Coppedoc* (1285, 1290, 1361, etc.), and *Coppedook* (1388); *Coppedoke* (1396). See Index Ch. and Rlls., p. 195.

Corney Hill Farm (Caton)

1332. R. de Cornay : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 91.

Perhaps from *Cornhæġ*, cp. *hæge*, 'hey,' in Pt. II., or the second element may be *-ey* from O. E. *ēā*, 'water-meadow.' See remarks under *-ey* (2) in Pt. II.

Cottam (near Lancaster)

1525. Cottom : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 24.

1632. Cottam : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 95.

Probably an old dat. pl. of O. E. *cot*, 'dwelling' (q. v.), thus meaning 'at the dwellings.'

Cowburg (Mossley)

1189-94 : Couburugh Ch., I. x., L. P. R., p. 346.

Either 'cow city,' or 'Col's city.' See *cū* and *burh* in Pt. II. It is possible that the first element is the pers. n. found in *Cowford* ante (q. v.). In this case we have a Norman spelling in the early form.

Cowden (Clith)

1332. Couden, R. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 76.

Apparently 'cow valley,' but M. E. and Mod. *cou-* is sometimes misleading, and may stand for earlier *col-*, and not *cū-*. See next word, and the elements *cū*, and *denu* in Pt. II.

Cowford

1322. Colleforthe (twice) Forest Peramb. : (Exch. Q. R.), i. No. 49, cit. L. P. R., p. 425.

Fords were so often named after animals (Oxford, Catford) that but for the old form one would have had no hesitation in assuming that the first element was really what it seems to be. As it is, we must assume that the first element is either the O. E. pers. n. *Col*, or the corresponding O. N. *Kollr*. Björkman, pp. 84 and 85, gives various references in the O. E. period for this name, and also in D. B. Why he should assume that *Col* is

probably Norse, I do not understand. The second element is the Scandinavian equivalent of the English *ford* (q. v.). This interchange of the English and Scand. forms of the word is common in Lancs. pl. ns. Cp. *Carnforth* and its older forms.

Cowhill

1258. Kuhul : L. Inq., p. 213.
1332. Couhull : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 75 ; also J. de Coule, ibid., p. 82. (Is this the same name ?)
1594. Coohyll : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 62.

'The hill of the cow.' *Cū* and *hyll* in Pt. II.

Cowpe [k*a*up]

Cuhope : } Whall. Ch., T. IV. xxi. p. 154.
Cuhopheued : }
1294. Couhoppe : } De Lac. Comp., 5.
1305. Couhope : } 101.
1311. Kouhope : De Lac. Inq., 12.

The '*hop*' or 'retreat' of the cow. See *hop*, and *cū* in Pt. II. *Lench* is a 'slope'; see O. E. *hlenċ* in Pt. II.

With this name cp. *Oxenhop*, Yorks. The name, A. de *Oxenhope* occurs in the Feudal Aids, Edw. I., see K.'s Inq , p. 380.

Crake (River)

1190. Craic : L. F., i. p. 4.
Craikerlith : L. F., i. p. 5.
1614. Creake, piscaria : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 78.
1629-30. Crakeaqua et piscaria : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 47.

Perhaps connected with O. E. *cracian*, 'quake,' with which *crecca* (=**craċċja*), 'creek, bay, wharfe,' is connected. See Jellinghaus's remarks (Anglia, xx. p. 300), under *creek*. Dutch *kreek* is a 'small river, or bay'; E. Fris. *krēke* is a 'small, winding river.' In Flanders the word *kreken* is translated as 'eaux stagnantes.' Thus the word shows considerable differentiation of meaning. *Cricklade* in Wilts. contains a form of this element. It appears as *Crecca ġelād* in the Parker Chron., ann. 905, Plummer's ed. i. p. 92. Curiously enough *Crayford* (Kt.), is called *Crecganford* (Parker Chron. ann. 457, Plummer's ed. i., p. 12). *Crake* may mean either 'the sluggish river,' or the 'quaking,' that is rippling (?) river.

Crimbles, Great and Little

1080. Crimeles : D. B., 301*b*.
1206. Crimbles : } L. F., i. p. 26 (separate Fines).
Crumles : }

1209. Crumeles : L. F., i. p. 39.
Crumbles : T. de N., 408.
1350. Crymblis: Knt.'s Fees, 23 Ed. III. (cit. Baines, iv. p. 763).

This name may be the possessive case (with an English suffix) of an O. N. pers. n. *Grimaldi*. This occurs in the pl. n. *Grammeltvet*, earlier *Grimaldaþweith*. Cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. Navne, p. 94. For development of *b* between *m* and *l*, cp. Engl. *thimble*, from O. E. *þȳmel*, oblique case *þȳmles*, etc. On the other hand, the name *Grimbald*, *Grimbold* occurs frequently in D. B. in the list of persons holding land before the survey (Ellis, Introd., p. 132), and were it not for the D. B. form we might assume this name rather than *Grimaldi*. For change of initial *G* to *C*, see Introd., § 22.

See now Björkman (N. Pers. in Engl.) for further examples of the pers. ns., *Grimbald*, and *Grimwald* in Engl. documents.

It must be admitted, however, that it is unsatisfactory to explain a pl. n. as merely the gen. case of a pers. n. unless we assume that some ending has been lost.

Cringlebarrow Wood

13th c. { Cringleborthan : Lanc. Ch., 177.
Cringelborhanes : Lanc. Ch., 182.
Cringelbroghan : Lanc. Ch., 186.
Cringelbroghanes : Lanc. Ch., 188.

The above forms do not throw much more light than the Mod. form. There can be little doubt, however, that the first element is the Norse pers. n. *Grimkel*, earlier *Grimketil*, a common name in Norway, and in Iceland. Rygh (Gamle Pers. Names, p. 94) gives a pl. n. *Grinkelsrud* earlier *Grimkelsrud*, which is very suggestive of the first element in the Lancs. name before us. The change from *Grinkel-*, to *Gringel* is natural. For the change of initial *G* to *C* in this names, cp. *Cunliffe*, etc. below. For *-barron* see O. E. *beorh* in Pt. II. The first form from the Lancs. Ch. has apparently a scribal error, *-borthan*, for *-borghan*. The other early spellings of the second element are probably thirteenth century copies from earlier documents, and may represent O. E. *beorgum*, dat. pl. M. E. **bergen*. The full name *Grimkytel* occurs in the Will of Alfwold, Bishop of Crediton (Crawf. Ch., No. x. l. 14, p. 23). The name *Gringelthorp* occurs (L. Inq., p. 99, 1212), and Farrer there quotes form *Grimchiltorþ* (115-18) from Lindsay's Survey (p. 25) ; further in T. de N., 407*b*. This, of course, contains the pers. n. *Grimketil*. *Gringeleia* (Notts.) occurs D. B., and is Mod. *Gringley*. Cp. also *Gryngeley* (2 Edw. I.), Plac. Abbrev., p. 187. The following forms of the name occur in Ellis's list of

persons who held land previous to the Doomsday Survey: *Grimchel, Grimchil, Grinchel, Grinchellus, Grimchil, Grinchetel* (Ellis, Introd., ii. pp. 132, 133). *Grimcil* occurs as a witness to a Ch. of 1160-80, cp. L. P. R., p. 407. Since one of these *Grimchels* held land in Notts., it is a reasonable supposition that *Gringeleia* in that county already referred to contains his name. We have thus a complete chain of forms to show the development of the Lancs. name:—*Grimkel, Grinkil* (or *-kel*), *Gringel*; while the change of the initial *G* to *C* is paralleled by other cases in Lancs. names. Cp. *Conder, Cumeralgh, Cunliff*, etc. The *-ch-* in the D. B. forms is written for the (*k*) sound.

The form *Grimgelege* may also be mentioned, although the document in which it occurs is of uncertain date. It is found in a Ch. which purports to emanate from King Alfred, though this and other spellings show, I think, that this copy could not have been written so early (cp. C. D., v. p. 136). See now the remarks on and the forms of O. N. *Grimkel*, given by Björkman, pp. 51 and 52.

Cringleber

This I take to be identical in origin with preceding name, and to correspond to an earlier *Grimketiles beorg*.

Croft

1201-02. } Croft: { L. P. R., p. 152.
1235. } { L. F., i. p. 70.
1272. Crofte: Lanc. Ch., p. 181.
1330. Crof: Lanc. Ch., p. 472.

The 'farm.' See *croft* in Pt. II.

Cromblebottom

1295. Crumbwelbothum: L. F., i. p. 179.
Late 13th c. Crumwell bothom: Whall. Ch., T. iv. xii. p. 145.
1311. Cromelywel: De Lac. Inq., 20.

The 'bottom,' *i.e.* valley or hollow of the 'bent,' or in this case winding (?) spring. The first element is O. E. *crumb*, 'bent,' etc. See *wella* and *botm* in Pt. II.

Crompton [kromptn]

1276. Crompton: Whall. Ch., T. iv. xxxiii. p. 164.
1278. Cromton: L. F., i. p. 154.
1319. Crompton: L. F., ii. p. 35.

The 'bent' or 'curved' tūn. See preceding name and *tūn* in Pt. II.

Cronton

1241-42. Growynton : L. Inq., p. 157.
1258. Croenton : Whall. Ch., T. de Bull., xi. p. 179.
1292. Crawynton : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b*.
1332. Croynton : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 6.
1333. Crouwenton : L. F., ii. p. 92.
1320-46. Croynton : Wap. Sur.[1], 38.
1478. Croenton : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 336.

The ' tun of crows.' See *Crāwe* and *tūn* in Pt. II.

Crookells (Mawdsl.)

1212. Crokholes : L. I., i. p. 75.
1604. Crokehall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 72.

The first element appears to be the pers. n. *Krōk* (O. E. or O. N. ?), which see under *Croxteth* below. The second element appears to be the pl. of O. E. *halh*, *hālas* (from halhas), M. E. *hōles*, ' corner,' etc. Evidently confusion with O. E. *heall*, *hall*, ' hall,' took place. See these elements in Pt. II.

Crosby [krozbi]

1176-77. Crossebi : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
12th c. Crosseby : Lanc. Ch., 13.
1314. } Little Crosseby : { L. F., ii. p. 19.
1379. } { L. F., iii. p. 6.

' The hamlet of the cross.' See *kross* and *bȳr* in Pt. II.

Crossens (Southport)

1240. Crosseness : Ch. of Will. del. Coudray, Hist. Par Meols, p. 11.
c. 1246. Crosnes : Scar. Ch., 10, p. 262.
1327. Crosnes : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 104.

The ' ness,' *i.e.* headland or cliff of the cross. See *nǣss* and *cros* in Pt. II.

Crossfield (Eccles)

Crossefeld : Whall. Ch., Tit. ii. p. 65.

' Field of the cross.'

Croston

1094. Croston : Lanc. Ch., 9.
Early 12th c. Crostuna : Penworth Ch., 4.
1401. Croxtum : Furn. Ch., 203.
Croxton : } T. de N. : { 408, 408*b*.
Croston : } { 405.

If we may believe the testimony of Furn. Ch. and T. de N., then this is not the '*tūn*' of the 'cross,' or shaped like a cross, but the *tūn* of *Crōc* or *Krōkr*. See this gentleman's name in *Croxteth* below. In Staffs., the names *Croxall*, *Croxden*, and *Croxton* occur, and the early, as indeed the later, forms of all point to *Crōces* (gen.) as the first element. Cp. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.). For other examples of loss of *k* before another cons., see p. 33, § 19 (4) above. For vowel-shortening, see p. 24, § 9 (3).

Croxteth

1228. Croxstath : Whall. Ch., T. VI., Per. Lanc., p. 372.
1257. Crocstad : L. Inq., p. 210.
1326. Croxtat : Lanc. Ch., p. 459.
1534-43. Crostaffe : Leland, v. p. 42.
1624. Croxtaffe : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 88.

The first element is the pers. n., O. E. *Crōc*, O. N., *Krōkr*. The second element is O. N. *staðr*, 'place, abode.' The O. E. *ō* was shortened before the consonants—*cst-*; cp. § 9 (3), p. 24 above. D. B. has *Crocsbi*, ll. 361*b* and 366*a*. Note the occurrence of a form in *-staffe*, with which cp. *Bickerstaffe* above. Cp. also *Croxton* (Cambs.), which in D. B. is *Crochestone* (Skeat, Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 8). Cp. also Björkman's remarks on the pers. n. *Crōc*, p. 89.

Crumpsall

1242. Curmisale : L. Inq., p. 245.
1444. Curmeshall : L. F., iii. p. 111.
1518. Curmyssall maner : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 16.
1558. Crumsall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 45.

'The *halh* of *Korni*'? The pers. n. is Scand. Cp. Rygh, N. Gdn., i. p. 229. For *halh*, see Pt. II.

Cuerdale

1189-94. / 1190-1220. } Kiuerdale : { Ch. III., xiv., L. P. R., p. 378. / Cockersnd. Ch., pp. 518-19.
1203-04. Kerdel : L. P. R., p. 179.
1292. Keverdale : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1311. Keuresdeale : De Lac. Inq., 16.
1353. { Kyverdale : L. F., ii. p. 135. / Kyuerdale : L. F., ii. p. 148.
1377. / 1431. } Keuerdale : { L. F., iii. p. 2. / L. F., iii. p. 125.
1511-12. Curedall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 18.

Perhaps from O. E. **cēfer*, 'pine tree,' and *dæl*, 'dell.' See *cēfer* and *dæl* in Pt. II.

The development of first element must have been *kēfer*< *kēver*<*kēuer*<*kjūər-*.

Cuerden

1190-1279. Kerden : Cockrsnd. Ch., passim pp. 488-93.
1292. Kerden : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1319. Kerdyn : L. F., ii. p. 34.
1352. 1358. 1390. } Kerden : { L. F., ii. p. 132. / L. F., ii. p. 157. / L. F., iii. p. 36.

'Wooded valley'? From the Mod. form one would be inclined to assume for the first element a similar origin to that of the preceding name. But the old forms do not encourage this view. I can make no suggestion except that *ker-* may represent O. N. *kjarr*, 'wood,' etc. (q. v.), and that the Mod. spelling is influenced by that of the preceding name, and perhaps by that of the one which follows. For the second element, see *denu*, Pt. II.

Cuerdley

1331. Keuerdelegh : Ind. Ch. and Rlls., p. 214.
1320-46. Cuerdesleghe : Wap. Sur., 38.
1411. Kiuerdeley : L. F., iii. p. 65.

The early forms suggest a pers. n. as the first elements, though I am unable to suggest any for which authority exists, from which it might be derived. One might hazard a guess that, if not a pers. n., the first element is a shortened form of the O. E. compound *cu-hyrde*, 'cow-herd,' or 'cow-keeper.' Cow-keeper's field has a convincing smack about it. The only form which really squares with this suggestion is the second above quoted.

Culcheth [kilʃə wud. Heard by Dr. Hirst]

Type I.

1200-01. Culchet : L. P. R., 47, p. 131.
Kulchet, G. d. : T. de N., p. 396.
1300. Culchyt : Scar. Ch., 41, p. 272.
1311. 1320-46. } Culcheth : { L. F., ii. p. 10 ; Wap. W. Der., 36. / Wap. Sur., i. p. 36.
1314. { Culchyth : / Culchith : } L. F., ii. p. 18.

1358. } Culchith : { L. F., ii. p. 159.
1386. } { L. F., iii. p. 28.
1402-03. } { L. F., iii. p. 67.
1558. Culketh : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 45.

TYPE II.

1303. Kilchif : L. F., i. p. 207.
1402-03. Kilchith : L. F., iii. p. 67.

The only thing which appears to me quite certain about this name is that it has absolutely nothing whatever to do with O. E. *ċealchȳð*, which would be (tʃɔ̄kiþ) in Mod. Engl. This suggestion, which Harrison (Liverpool District Pl. Ns.) says has been made by many, is sheer nonsense, and does not require the 'careful study' which H. says he gave it before dismissing it. I fear that an equally short shrift must be given to H.'s own etymology of the name, which derives the first element from an O. E. pers. n. *Cul*, and the suffix from O. E. *ċete*, 'cabin.'

In the first place no such O. E. name as *Cul* is recorded, though *Cula* apparently existed in the local *Culanfen* (see Searle), and *Col* certainly existed. Cp. *Cowford* above, and Searle. As regards *ċete*, only two out of the twelve forms collected above end in *t*, and these can be explained as the mistakes of Norman scribes, while that the final consonant was an open one, and not a stop, is established not only by the numerous forms ending in *-th*, but by the spelling with *f* above recorded.

I have not the faintest idea what the elements originally were, beyond the fact that the early forms go to show that the word began with *Cul-* in M. E., and ended in *-th*. I can make no plausible guess as to what the component parts were, and leave the solution of the problem to others. Either the first element must have been O. E. **cylċ*, or the second must have been **-ċcþ*, since the genuineness of the medial *ch* is established by the local pronunciation (*kil/ə*) recorded by Harrison. Unfortunately no such elements are known, nor have we any ground for reconstructing them, and assigning to them a meaning.

Cumeralgh in Whittingham

1292. Gumberhalgh : Plac. Q. Warr., 375.
1468. Cumbrol : L. F., iii. p. 134.
1497. Cumberall : L. F., iii. p. 146.
1519. Cumberall : Duc. Lanc., i. 10.
1610. Combrall-in-Whittingham, R. Albine of : Rich. Wills, p. 4.

The '*halh*' of *Gunnbjorg*—'a universal female name in Norway

in the Middle Ages' (Rygh, Gamle Pers. Navne, p. 104). From *Gunnbjorg* to *Gumber-* is a natural development. The change of initial *G* to *C* is not unknown in Lancs. names. Cp. next place.

Rygh mentions the Norse pl. n. *Gunbjörrud* and *Gunborgsdalen*, which contain this name. A *Gumperga*, niece of King *Luitprand*, is mentioned by Paul. Diac. (cp. Dic. Christ. Biog.). This pers. n. does not occur in Björkman's N. Pers. Namen in Engl.

Cunliffe

1278. Gundeclyf : L. F., i. p. 156.
1282. Cundecliue : L. Inq., p. 244.
1288. Cundeclif : Whall. Ch., T. III. xxxv. p. 102.
14th c. Cundecliue : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxxxiv. p. 318.
1506. Cuncliff (personal name) : L. F., iii. p. 158.
Guncliff : L. F., iii. p. 159.

'The cliff of *Gunnhildr*.' The more primitive form *Cuncliffe* still persists as a family name. Cp. Bardsley, Surnames, p. 224. For change of initial consonant, cp. preceding place, and the following, and § 22, p. 34 above. A form, *Kunescliue* (pers. n.), occurs Feod. Pr., Dunelm, p. 54, n. (probably early fifteenth century). For notes on *Gunnhildr*, cp. *Gunnell's Fold* below.

Cunscough

TYPE I.

1184-90. Cuniggescofh : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 334.
1190. Conigscofh : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 3.
1280. Quonesche, Simon de : Scar. Ch., 31, p. 269.
1300. Cunsco : Scar. Ch., 4, p. 260.
1302. Cunscow : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 550.
1320-46. Conescoughe : Wap. W. Der., 34.
1451. Conscogh : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 1240.

TYPE II.

1246-47. Cunnescok : L. A. R., p. 118 (twice).

Apparently 'the wood of the king' (O. N. *Konung*). Type II. introduces the mysterious *-cok* as a suffix. See remarks on this in Pt. II. below. The spelling of the 1280 form above is very eccentric, and must be due to confusion with some other element. The spellings in *-scofh* are attempts of foreign scribes to express the native English sound of a back open voiceless consonant. For *-scough*, see *skōgr* in Pt. II.

D

Dalton [dɔ̄tn]

(1) 1127. Daltonam : Furn. Ch., 123.
(2) 1157-63. de Daltona : Ch. IX. iv., L. P. R., p. 311.

(3) 1202. Dauton : L. F., i. p. 19.
(4) 1228. Dalton : L. F., p. 54.
(5) 1346. Dalton : L. F., ii. p. 122.
(6) 1370. Dowton : Furn. Ch., 145.

Harrison may be right (p. 42) in explaining this name as the 'farmstead in the dale,' that is O. E. *Dæltūn*, and *Dælham* occurs in a ch. of 966 (C. D., vi. p. 80) ; on the other hand, Rygh (Gamle Pers. Navne., p. 57) quotes *Dalla* as a woman's name, and gives six different names in which it occurs, e.g. *Dallerud*, *Doltorp*, etc. Cp. also same authority (Norske, Gn. I. p. 44).

Nos. 3 and 6 above represent a type of pronunciation which diphthongised *al* to *aul*, and dropped the *l*, and would lead to Mod. (dōtn). Probably the *dal-* spellings in M. E. were traditional, and copied from older documents. For this change, cp. *Audenshaw*, and § 7 (5) above.

Damas Gill

1228. Dameresgill : Ch. II., xix., L. P. R., p. 421.

'The gill, or glen of Damer,' perhaps O. E. *Dæġmǣr* or an O. N. equivalent. I am unable to trace this pers. n. in early English records. Cp. however *Dagmār*, cit. Heyne from old continental L. G. sources.

Darwen

12th c. Dyrwente : S. of Durham, p. 148.
1311. { Ondrewent : / Nether Derwent : } de Lac. Inq., 15, 16.
1332. Derwent : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 76.
1332. Netherderwent : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 81.

C. D., iii. p. 484, has on *Deorwentan* (Nthants, 989).

Dean

1292. Dene : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b*.

'The valley.' See O. E. *denu*, Pt. II.

***Deepdale** (near Preston)

1228. Dupedale : Peramb. Lanc., L. P. R., p. 421.
1270. Depedale : Scar. Ch., 24, p. 267.
1336. Depdale : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., II. p. 113.

'Deep dale or valley.' The 1228 form probably represents, in the first element, the O. N. *djūpr*, 'deep,' ; the others, and the Mod. form, O. E. *dēōp*, M. E. *dēpe*.

Deer Play Moor (Rossendale) [dāpli moə. J. H. H.]

1294. Derplaghe : De Lac. Comp., pp. 4, 100.
1397. Derplegh, R. de : Recog. Rlls., i. p. 145.

O. E. *plega*, whence Engl. *play* means 'quick movement, sport,

play.' It is often used in poetry, of fighting, especially in compounds, such as *hand-plega*, *wig-plega*, etc. The verb *plegan* has the corresponding verbal meanings. The same word in the form *plaga*, is used in O. N. in the senses of 'cultivate, to be used, wont.' Cleasby-Vigf. suggest that the O. N. word is borrowed from German or English. The H.-G. *plegen* is closer in meaning to the O. N. than the English word.

The compound *Deerplay* may mean either 'deer's fighting place,' or the place where the sport of stag-hunting was pursued. The 1294 form suggests an O. N. origin, though the Mod. name has reintroduced the English form.

Dendron

1412. Denrum : Furn. Ch., 81

Denton

1278. Denton : L. A. R., p. 155.
1305. Dentone : De Lac. Comp., p. 62.

There is a *Denton* in Hunts., on which Skeat (Hunts. Pl. Names, pp. 342-43) remarks : 'the prefix may either represent *denu*, a valley, or the gen. pl. *Dena*, of the Danes, of which the pl. nom. was *dene*.' Skeat also notes D. B. *denetum=Denton* in Kent in a ch. of the latter half of tenth century (C. D., ii. p. 380). There is nothing to add upon this rather uninteresting name.

Derby (West)

1196-97. Derebi : L. P. L., 43, p. 97.
1251. E. of Dereby : L. F., i. p. 112.
1321. Derby : L. F., ii. p. 45.

Derby Brook (West)

1246. Derby brok : L. F., i. p. 101.

Dewsnape

1284. Dewysnape : L. F., i. p. 159.

Unless this means 'the pasture land belonging to David,' I can offer no explanation. *Dewy* is a Welsh form apparently. See *snæp* in Pt. II.

Deysbrook (West Derby div.)

There are a considerable number of pers. ns. in O. E. which begin with *Dæg-*, e.g. *Dæghelm*, *Dægbeorht*, *Dægfrið*, or *Dæġfrið*, etc., etc. The latter occurs in a local name—*Dæġferðesea* (cp. Searle). The first element of *Deysbrook* may quite well be a shortened form of one of these names. See *brōc* in Pt. II.

Dicconson Lane (Wigan)

Dickinson=the son of little Dick, i.e. Richard, is a fairly old name. Thom. *Dykinnessone* occurs Penworth Ch., p. 57 (1386). The name may have been confused sometimes with 'Deacon's son.' Cp. *Deconson*, Penworth Ch., p. 60, 1321. Variants of *Richard, Richards, Richardson, Dick, Dickson, Dickens, Dickins, Dickon*, etc., have always been popular in England since the time of King Richard I.

Didsbury (par. Manchester)

1246-47. Dedesbiri : L. A. R., pp. 71, 74.
1249. Diddesbur. : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 345.
1259-60. Diddesbiri : L. A. R., p. 295.
1276. Dyddesbyry : Diddisbiry : L. A. R., p. 133.
1276. Dydesbyri : Didesbyri : L. A. R., p. 142.
1277. Diddisbyry : L. A. R., p. 147.

Dēda was Abbot of Parteney about 720; and there are several O. E. names beginning with *Dæd—Dædheah, Dædmær, Dædwine*, etc. See Searle. A somewhat similar name occurs in *æt Dyddenhamme* (C. D., ii. p. 527 (956 Somers)). The first element of *Didsbury* is clearly a pers. n. of some such kind as one of these—the early forms are not very consistent—and the suffix is the dat. sing. of O. E. *burg* (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Dilworth

TYPE I.

1227. Dilworth : L. F., i. p. 53.
1284. Dillesworth : L. A. R., p. 176.
1292. Dylleworth : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1313. Dilleworth : L. F., ii. p. 14.
1332. Dilleworth : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 87.

TYPE II.

1311. Dolleworth : De Lac. Inq., 17.

The 'worth' of *Dil* or *Dola*? The former is mentioned by Searle as an element in *Dilion, Dilmun, Dilra*. These names only occur once each. *Dola* seems only to occur once. *Dolfin* is much better established. It is unsatisfactory to have no better evidence than this.

Dinckley

1246-47. Dunkythele, G. de : L. A. R., pp. 84, 86.
1246-47. Dinkedelay : L. A. R., p. 89.
1246-47. Dinkidele : L. A. R., p. 92.
1246-47. Dingele : L. A. R., p. 100.

Late 13th c. Dynkedley : Whall. Ch., T. III. lxvii. p. 132.
1311. Dynkeley : De Lac. Inq., 16.
1350. Dyncley : Feod. Mil. 23 Edw III., Baines, iv. p. 358-59.
1369. Dynkedelay : L. F., ii. p. 176.
1506. Dynkley : L. F., iii. p. 158.

***Ditchfurlong** (field near Stalmine)

c. 1256. Dichfurlong : Lanc. Ch., 374.

Ditton

1193-94. Ditton : L. P. R., 40, p. 78.
1246-47. Dithon : L. A. R., p. 118.
1298. Dicton : Lanc. Ch., 334.
1311. Dighton : De Lac. Inq., 18 (=Ditton).

'Ditch town.' The 1298 form is the most primitive and represents O. E. *Dīc tun*. The 1311 form represents another development of the combination *-ct-* (cp. p. 32, § 16 above). See Skeats's note on *Ditton* in Cambs. Pl. N.

Docker (Borwick Carnf.)

1547-48. Docker : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 36.

The first element may be the pers. n. *Docca*, which occurs in *Doccan grāf* in Birch and C. D. (cit. Searle), and the second *kjarr*, 'wood, swamp.' We should expect M. E. **Docke(n)ker*. See also *Duckworth* and *Duxbury* below.

Downham [dæənəm]

1294. Dounam : De Lac. Comp., 11.
1302. Dounum : L. F., i. p. 199.
1311. {Dennon : / Donnon :} De Lac. Inq., 7.

Perhaps a dat. pl. of O. E. *dūn* (q. v. Pt. II.), and thus meaning 'in the hills.'

Downholland

1292. Dounholond : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1298. Dunholand : L. Inq., p. 288.

See use of *down-* in compound names under *dūn* (Pt. II.), and Holland below.

***Down Litherland**

1320-46. Dounlitherlande : Wap. Sur., 34.

See *Down-* in Pt. II. and *Litherland* below.

Dragley Beck (Ulv.)

Cp. *Drakelawe* (T. de N., 409), which, however, probably is Drakelaw in Derbysh., also *Drakelawe* (Lanc. Inq., 27). *Dractone* occurs in D. B., and *Draghton* in K.'s Inq. for the Mod. Yorks. *Draughton*. The first element of the names may either be O. E. *draca*, 'dragon,' or it may be a pers. n. O. E. **dracan lǣh* would normally become Mod. Engl. **Drakeley*, but if we assume an early M. E. form **drak-lei*, with the loss of sense of the meaning of the first element, the voicing of *k* before *-l-* is comprehensible, though I cannot give another instance of it. The Yorks. form *Draghton*, above quoted, implies an earlier **drak-tun*.

Droylsden

1240-59. Drilisden : Ch. vi. vi., L. P. R., p. 333.
1443. Drilesden Moor : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 111.
1501. Drilsden : L. F., iii. p. 152.
1619-20. Droylsden : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 52.
1625. Droylesdale : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 106 (probably same place).

Obviously the 'dene' or valley of one *Dryġel*. The normal development of this name in standard Engl. would be M. E. (gen.) *Dri3eles—Drīles*, whence Mod. (drailz-). The spelling of *Droylsden* probably represents an earlier stage in the development of the word. The pronunciation may survive in Lancs. The pers. n. **Dryġel* is one that may well have existed in O. E. I assume it to be from the base **drug-* with the suffix *-il*. O. E. has from this base the common word *dryhten*, 'lord,' both heavenly and earthly. There is further the strong vb. *drēōgan, drēāh, drug*-on, 'carry out,' 'perform.' Cognate with this is Gothic *driugan*, 'perform military service,' *drauhtinōn*, 'fight,' etc. The O. E. pers. n. *dryċġ-helm*, from **drug-ja-*, occurs Liber Vitae, 96, cp. Müller, p. 104. The prefix of this name is our word *drudge*. The name **Dryġel*, then, would mean 'companion in war,' or something of the kind, just as *dryhten* originally meant 'war-lord.' Compare the cognate Russian *drug*, 'friend,' originally 'comrade in arms.' *Drudge* has undergone degeneration in meaning. Cp. *denu* in Pt. II. for second element.

Drummersdale

1609-10. Dromblesdale : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 76.

The Mod. form must be popular etymology, and a new formation if the 1609 form is genuine and primitive. This looks as if the first element might be a pers. n. **Drumol* which, however, is not found, and the only base from which it could be derived

is O. E. *drēam*, 'joy,' which exists in all Gmc. languages, that is if this be cognate with O. H. G. *traum*, 'dream,' etc., which is denied by many, e.g. Skeat, Conc. Etym. Dic.

Duckworth

1241. Ducworth : L. F., i. p. 85.
1241. Ducworthley : L. F., i. p. 81.
1296. Dukword : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 200.

'The worth of *Docca*.' Searle cites the names *Docca* and *Docco*. *Duxford* (Essex) occurs as *Dokesworth* in Cal. Inq. Hen. III., No. 744, p. 240 (1268). Cp. also *Duxbury* below, and *Docker* above.

Duddon

1157-63. Duden(ā) : Ch. IX., iv., L. P. R., p. 312.
1196. Duthen (twice) : L. F., i. p. 4.
c. 1292. Doden : Dodyne : Dodine : Furn. Ch., pp. 325, 330, 332.
1307. Dudden, R. de : Parl. Writs, 2, p. 9.

Dumplington

1229. Dumplinton : L. F., i. p. 56.
1623. Dumplington : Duc. Lanc., i. 84.

The 'tūn' of **Dumela*, **Dumola*. As often happens, the weak gen. suffix *-an* appears to have been preserved in M. E. and later changed to *-ing*. The pers. n. suggested is not found recorded in O. E.

Dunkenhalgh (Manor near Blackburn)

1557. Dunkenhawghe : Dunkynhawghe : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 157.

The 'halgh' of *Dun(n)eca*. The first element is a diminutive form of the O. E. pers. n. *Dunn* or *Dunna*, both of which forms are mentioned by Searle. He further quotes the form *Dunnic*, as occurring once. *Dunkenhalgh* appears to contain a weak form—gen. *Dunnecan*. Cp. *Dunnockshaw* below for the strong form *Dunnoc*. This name occurs also in *Dunkeswell* (Dev.), which is written *Dunekeswille* in Cal. of Inq. Hen. III. No. 139, p. 34. Here again we have the strong form of the name.

Dunnerdale

1300. Donerdale : L. F., i. p. 191.
1404. Donesdale : Furn. Ch., 351.
1496. Donnerdale : L. F., iii. p. 145.
1522. Dunnersdale : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 26.

The dale of *Dunnere*,' earlier *Dūnhere*. This pers. n. occurs in the O. E. poem known as the Battle of Maldon (c. 993), l. 255. Cp. also first element in next word.

Dunnerholm (Dalton)

1219-20. Dunreholm : Furn. Ch., 50.

1252. {Dunerholm : / Donnerholm :} Furn. Ch., 316, 317.

'Dūnheres's holm.' For firste lement see preceding name ; for second see *holmr* in Pt. II.

Dunnockshaw (Rossendale)

1295. Dunnockschae : De Lac. Comp., 32.

1305. Dunnockschaghe : De Lac. Comp., 78.

1332. Dunnokshagh, J. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 76.

1535. {Dunnockshay : / Donnockshay :} Tnley Rnt. Rll., pp. 6 and 7.

The 'wood of *Dunoc*.' The second element is O. E. *sċeaga*, 'wood' (q. v. Pt. II.). For the first element cp. under *Dunkenhalgh*. The second element of the 1535 forms shows confusion with O. E. *hæġe*. Cp. forms of Grimshaw and Nutshaw.

***Dustyshaw** (in Fishwick)

1254. Dustescahe : L. Inq., p. 192.

See O. E. *dūst* and *sċeaga* in Pt. II.

Dutton

1102 in Dotona : Ch. I. xv., L. P. R., p. 382.

1302. Dutton : Orig. Rlls., 124.

1380. Dutton : L. F., iii. p. 7.

Duxbury

1202. Deukesbiri : L. F., i. p. 18.

1203-04. Dokesbire : L. P. R., 50, p. 180.

1227. Dukesbiri : L. F., i. p. 52.

1294. Dokesbyry : De Lac. Comp., p. 10.

1321. Dokesbury : L. F., ii. p. 42.

1336-42. Dochesburi : Pr. Pen., p. 10.

The burg of *Ducca* or *Docca*. Cp. *Duckworth* above and *burg* in Pt. II. The change from a weak to a strong type is common in Pers. Ns.

E

***Earlsgate** (a road near Lancaster ; see Farrer's L. P. R. p. 422).

1332. Erlesgate : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. 57.

This use of *gate* is Norse. Cp. under *ġeat* in Pt. II.

Earnshaw (Preston)

1323. Erneshalgh : Pr. Pen., 53.

The first element is either O. E. *earn, arn,* 'eagle,' or a short form of some pers. n. compounded therewith, such as *Arnulf*; the second element in the above M. E. form is obviously not that which has given the Mod. form. It is quite possible that *halh* preceded by the *-s-* of the gen. and O. E. *sċeaga*, were levelled under the same pronunciation in unstressed positions. In this case O. E. *earn- sċeaga* and *earneshalh* both became M. E. (*arnes-*, or *ernes-aw*), the only difference being that the former was generally (erneʃau), the latter (ernesau).

Eaves (Whalley parish)

O. E. *ĕfes* (sing.) is used in the sense of border or edge or end of anything—a wood, a house. The verb *efesian* means to cut the nails or the hair !

Eccleston

1086. Eglestun : D. B., 301*b*.
1194. Eggleston : L. P. R., 41, p. 90.
1203. Ekeleston : L. F., i. p. 12 (Leyland).
1224. Echelton : L. F., i. p. 45.
1241. Eccliston : L. F., i. p. 84.
1296. Great Eccleston : L. F., i. p. 181.
1305. Ecclestone : L. F., i. p. 205 (Prescot).

Edgworth (Bolton)

1246. Eggewurth : L. A. R., p. 14.
1292. { Egeword : / Eggeword : } L. F., i. p. 170.
1325. Eggeworth : L. C. R., p. 157.

The 'worth' on the 'edge' or ridge of a hill. See *eċġ*, and *wurþ* in Pt. II.

Eea (River, Cartmel)

1679. Easide in Cortmel, Henry Barrow of : Rich. Wills, p. 21 ; also Ayside, three times on same p. of Rich. Wills.
1689. Eadale, cp. (Derby) : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 285.

This word is apparently simply the O. E. word *ēa*, 'water,' 'river.' *Easide* and *Ayside* may mean what it seems, but compare other suggestions under this name itself.

? Egacres (stream near Ormskirk)

1189-96. Egacras : Ch. I. xi., L. P. R., p. 349.

***Egger**

1152. Piscarium de Eggre : Furn. Ch., p. 594.

***Eggergarth** (near Lydiate ?)

c. 1260. Ekergart : Scar. Ch., No. 18, p. 265.
1320-46 : Egger-garth : Wap. Sur., 36-38.

Egton (par. Ulverstone)

1246. Egtone : Furn. Ch., 349.
1266. Egeton : Furn. Ch., 417.
1277. Eggettane : L. A. R., p. 147.
1340. Eggeton : Furn. Ch., 413.

'The tūn on the edge ?' In this case the first element in Norse.

Ellel

1086. Ellhale : D. B., 332*a*.
1153-6. Elhale : L. P. R., p. 392.
1206-07. Helhale : L. P. R., 53, p. 217.
1208. Elhale : L. F., i. p. 26.
1254. } Ellale : { L. F., i. p. 115.
1292. } { Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 762.
{ Lanc. Ch., 42.
1346. Ellehale : Wap. Sur., 81.
1497. Ellal : L. F., iii. p. 146.

The second element is evidently the dat. sing. of *halh* (q. v.). The first element is very doubtful. It may possibly be a form of O. E. *æðel*, and a shortened form of one of the many pers. ns. beginning with this prefix. See under *Elston* below. I doubt, however, whether, if this were the case, we should find *el-* written as early as D. B. At this early date the shortening must be due to Norman scribes.

Ellerbeck (Chorley)

1333. Ellerbek : Scar. Ch., 62, p. 279.

'The stream that runs by the elder trees.' O. E. *ellen*, *ellern*, 'elder tree,' M. E. *eller*(*n*), *elren*, etc.

Ellesmere Park (Eccles)

For first element, cp. *Elston*. The second element is, perhaps O. E. *ġemǣru*, 'boundary' (q. v. Pt. II.).

Elliscales (Dalton in Furness)

1206. Alaynscheles : Cat. Anc. Dds., i. No. B. 13, p. 218.
1227-36. Alinscales : Furn. Ch., p. 250.
1270. Alineschales : Furn. Ch., p. 261.
1299. Alingschalis : Cal. of Ch. D. of L., No. 73, p. 170.
1382. Alynscales : L. F., iii. p. 13.
1591. Elyscalles : Rich. Wills, p. 17.

The second element is O. N. *skāli* (q. v. Pt. II.), 'shed,' 'shealing.' The first element I now take to be the O. E. pers. n. *Æðelwine*, whence *Ælwine*, and in M. E. *Alin-*. Another possibility for the first element is *Ælfwine*, which, however, one would expect to become *Elfin-*, *Elphin*, as in *Elphinstone*. Cp. *Alvintune* in D. B. cited by Duignan under *Alton*. See also under *Allithwaite* above. *Ælwin* apparently occurs in *Aeluuinnae* in a ch. of 723-37 (C. D., i. p. 100). The full form of the name occurs in a ch., dated 1001, but probably a late copy, in *Æðelwines imāre* C. D., iii. p. 321), and immediately below *Ælfwines imāre* occurs twice, once written *Ælphwines*.

Elston

1212. Etheliston : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 30.
1241. Etheleston : L. A. R., p. 5.
1301. } Etheleston : { L. F., i. p. 192.
1334. } { L. F., ii. p. 94.
1395. Ethelston : L. F., iii. p. 46.
1446. Elleston : L. F., iii. p. 112.

Certainly not the *tūn* of the 'nobleman' (O. E. *æðel*, *eðel*), nor of the 'native country' (O. E., *ēðel*), but of some person, of whose name this *eðel* is the short form. Any of such names as *Æðelstān*, *Æðelwulf*, *Æðelbe(o)rht*, etc., might be so contracted. But we might regard *Ethel-* simply as a normal M. E. form of O. E. *Aðulf-* in which contracted form *Æðelwulf* is found already in the O. E. period. Cp. *Aðulfestreow* in a ch. of 1005, (C. D., iii. p. 343), to *Aðulfesheale*, ann. 938, (C. D., v. p. 234), to *Adulfesðorne*, ann. 948, (C. D., v. p. 321). See also the name of *Aðulf*, Bp. of Hereford (951-1012), which occurs four times in Crawfurd Ch. according to the Index.

Elswick

1086. Edelesuuic : D. B., 301*b*.
1159-64. Hedthelsiwic : Ch. R., xiv., L. P. R., p. 374.
1245. } Etheliswic : { L. Inq., p. 160.
1200-46. } { Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 187.

1212-59.
1238-58. Etheleswic : Cockrsnd. Ch., pp. 187-88.
1245.
1283. Etheliswyk : L. Inq., p. 160. L. F., i. p. 160.
1295. Etheleswyk : L. F., i. p. 178.
End 13th c. Etheleswyke : Lanc. Ch., 358.
1311. Ethelleswick : De Lac. Inq., 22.
1324. Etheliswyk : L. C. R., p. 37.
1322. Ethelswike : Cal. Inq. A. q. D., p. 271.
1378. Etheliswyk : L. F., iii. p. 4.
1413. L. F., iii. p. 72.
1489. Elleswik : L. F., iii. p. 142.

The ' wick ' of *Aðulf*, earlier *Æðelwulf*. See under *Elston*.

Elton (Bury)

1332. Eltonheued, H. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 16. (Is this the same Elton ?)

This is a very widespread pl. n., which has given its name to an ancient and distinguished English family. Skeat produces copious early examples of the Huntingdonshire *Elton* (vide Skeat's Hunts. Pl. Names, pp. 349-50)—*Adelintune* from D. B., and *Adelyngtona*, *Athelintone*, *Æthelingtone*, etc. (Gt. Ramsay Chartulary). As Skeat remarks, these forms point unmistakably to O. E. *Æðelinga tun*, ' Princes' town,' as in *Æðelingaig*, Athelney (Somers).

Emmott (Nelson)

1295. Emot, H. de : De Lac. Comp., p. 22.

***English Lea** (near Preston)

1256. Englisshe-le : L. F., i. p. 123.
1292. Lee Engleys : Plac. Q. Warr., 380.
1385. Englissh lee : L. F., iii. p. 25 (cp. Frenssh lee, same Fine).
1388. Le Lee Anglica : L. P., iii. p. 32.
1631-62. English Lea, French Lea : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 95.

' English field.' Cp. Frennsh Lee (q. v.)

Entwistle [entisl]

1277. Ennetwysel, E. de : L. A. R., p. 138.
1334. Entwisill, John de : L. F., ii. p. 94.
1327. Entewysel, J. de : Lay Subs., Farrer's MS., 25.
1497. Entwisdle : L. F., iii. p. 146.

The second element is O. E. *twisla*, 'fork of a river.' The first is apparently O. E. *ened*, 'duck.'

Eskrigg (Carnf.)

1332. Eskrige, Joh. de : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 97.

'Ash-tree ridge.' O. N. *askr* and *hryggr*. The English equivalents are *æsċ*, and *hryċġ* (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Esprick

1254. Esbric : L. Inq., p. 196.
1332. Askebrek, J. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 56.
1514-15. Esbrek : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 18.
1577. Estbrecke : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 47.

The early forms, especially that of 1332, suggest 'ash slope.' Cp. *æsċ* and *brekka* in Pt. II. Both elements are Norse, for the first see preceding name. The 1577 form is probably a popular (or 'learned') etymology, signifying '*east breck*.' The form *Esbrek* must be from the metathesised form *ask-* brek, with loss of *-k-* before the following consonant. *Askebrek* has an inflected form of the first element, the vowel of which preserved the *-k-* sound. The modern form shows the unvoicing of the *-b-* to *-p-* after the voiceless *-s-*.

Esthwaite Water

1326. Estwayt : Orig. Rlls., 293*b*.

Euxton [akstən / ekstn]

1241-42. Euckeston : L. A. R., p. 5.
1246. Eukiston : L. A. R., p. 20.
13th c. Euchestona : Pr. Pen., 6.
1292., 1337. Eukeston : L., F., i. p. 172. / Pr. Pen., 31.
1311. Huxton : De Lac. Inq., 24.

Everton

1094. Evretonan : Lanc. Ch., 10.
1190. Everton : Lanc. Ch., 112.
1297. Everton : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 136, No. 51.

The first element is probably O. E. *eofor*, 'wild boar,' here used, as it often was, as a pers. n. In such inflected forms as that of 1094, the vowel would not undergo lengthening in M. E. Otherwise O. E. *eofore(s) tūn* would become M. E. **ēveretūn*, Mod. (ivətən).

Evesbrook

1252. Evesbrok at Ribelton Scales: Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 406.

'The brook at the edge'—of a forest? Cp. *efes* in Pt. II.

Extwistle [ekswisl muə]

1242-43. Extwisil: Scret. of Garc. L. Inq., p. 150.
1260. Extwille: L. A. R., p. 234.
1261-62. Extwelle: L. A. R., p. 303.
1323. Extwesil: L. C. R., p. 50.
Exthwisil: T. de N., 399.
Extwisil: T. de N., 397.
14th c. Exthwisil: T. de N., p. 399.

The first element is, perhaps, O. E. *egesa*, *egsa*, 'terror,' that which causes terror—'sprite.' This is apparently the basis of the first element in at least three O. E. pl. ns. in C. D. E.g. *betweonum Egsa(n)forda*. C. D., iii. p. 400. Of course the assumption that *ex-* can be derived from an O. E. *eġsa-* is open to the objection that it involves the change of O. E. *-ġs-* to *-ks-*, which many may doubt; but forms like M. E. *sikst*, 'seest,' O. E. *sihst*, tend to show that the change took place in the south at any rate. It is difficult to establish it for the North Midlands (cp. my Contributions to Hist. of Engl. Gutturals, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1899, p. 122), we should rather expect **Eistwistle* as the Mod. form. If we reject this suggestion, as Napier and Stevenson do, for *egesan trēo* (Crawf. Ch., ii. 30, p. 4), we may, perhaps, accept their suggestion that *Egesa* is a personal name, 'a shortened form of some name in *Egis-*, like *Egisberht*, *Eges-nōð*, *Agesmund*.' See the note on p. 63 of Crawf. Ch. For *-twistle*, see *Entwistle* above, and *Twisla* in Pt. II. below.

F

Facit (Rochdale) [fēsit]

1561-62. Fawcyd: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 44.

The suffix may be *-head*. Cp. Skeat (Hunts, Pl. Names, p. 328), who gives the old forms *Faresheved*, *Feavreshefde*='bull's head,' for the Mod. *Farcet*. I can offer no reasonable suggestion as to the origin of the first element, beyond saying that the *c* must belong to it, and represent the *-s* of the gen. if the above view of the suffix be correct. In Cal. Ch. Rolls., i. p. 314, in a Rll. dated 1247, occurs the name *Faxide*, which is said in the Index to be modern Fawcet in Westm.

Failsworth

1212. Faileswrthe : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 67.
1292. Fayllesworth : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1501. Faylsworth : L. F., iii. p. 152.

The ' worth ' of **Feġel*, or **Fæġel*. I cannot find this pers. n. recorded in O. E. or any other Gmc. language. But it is necessary to assume its existence. Nor need this be a difficulty. *-ila-*, *-il* is a common suffix in O. E. pers. ns., and the first element one would identify with the root **fag-*, ' joy,' ' pleasure,' found in O. E. *fæġn*, ' joyful,' *fæġ(e)nian*, verb ' rejoice,' *fæġer*, ' fair,' ' beautiful ' ; Goth., *fagrs*, *faginōn*, etc. This root also occurs in the Lombard name *Facho*. Cp. Meyer, Spr. d. Lombarden, p. 285.

Fairclough

1328. Fairclogh : L. F., ii. p. 72.
1332. ffairclogh : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 25.

O. E. *fæġer* and *clōh*, ' beautiful clough.' See both words in Pt. II. Or perhaps the first element is O. N. *fær*, ' sheep.' Cp. *Fair Snape* below.

Fairfield

1523. Faghfild : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 23.
1578. Faghefelde : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 46.

Either what it appears to be, or possibly the first element is O. N. *fær*, ' sheep.' Cp. next name. The above sixteenth century forms do not shed much light, and whether the first element be O. E. *fæġer*, or O. N. *fær*, they are bad spellings.

Fair Snape (Garstang)

' Sheep pasture ' ? In the absence of early forms I hazard the conjecture that the first element is O. N. *fār or fær* ' a sheep.' The second element means ' poor, boggy, pasture land.' Cp. *Snape* in Pt. II. below.

Falinge Ro.

?13th c. ffalenge : } Whall. Ch., p. 155.
13th-14th. ffalenges : } Whall. Ch., p. 125.
ffaling : } Whall. Ch., p. 164.

1623-24. Fallinge : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 84.

Perhaps O. E. *fealwe* or *fealu*, *ing*, ' fallow field.' See these elements in Pt. II.

Fallowfield

1530. Falowfelde : Duc. Lanc., p. 27.
1563-64. Falowfeilde : Duc. Lanc., p. 42.

Farington

Early 12th. c. Farinton : Pr. Pen., 3.
1246. Farington : L. F., i. p. 102.
1334. { ffarington : / ffarinton : } Pr. Pen., pp. 17, 15.
1516. ffaryngton : Pr. Pen., p. 76.

A favourite way of explaining such a name would be to say it was the *tūn* of the family of the *Farings*. I do not believe much in these bogus ' families,' which are produced so often by writers on nomenclature. We have no evidence of their existence, except in very few cases. Besides, if we take the above early twelfth century form seriously, it at once disposes of the *Faring* myth. There is an O. E. pers. n. *Fara*, and we may assume an O. E. form from it—**Faran tun*, which later became *Farentun*, *Farintun*, and *Faringtun*, as we should expect. On *-en-* becoming *-ing-*, see p. 35 above. The initial ff's in some of the spellings mean nothing. Capital *F* was formerly often written thus. Cp. preceding names.

Farleton

Hen. II. Fareltun : Ind. Ch. and Rlls., p. 273.
1208. Farletones : L. F., i. p. 31.
1229. / 1246. Farleton (Okerrith) : { L. F., i. p. 56. / L. F., i. p. 104.
1253. Farlton : Cl. Rlls., iv. p. 309.
Farelton : T. de N., p. 406*b*.

The first element must be a pers. n., but I am unable to suggest anything but O. N. *Fjorleif*, from which Rygh (G. Pn., p. 71) derives several Norw. pl. ns.—*Fjæresttad*, *Fjörelstad*. R., however, says that he only holds out this derivation as a possibility, and that he himself has previously suggested as the first element of the latter name, and of one other which I do not quote here, the O. N. *fifrildi*, ' butterfly,' used as a man's name, and in a form similar to that of Sw. *fjäril*. Whatever may be the origin of *Fjörelstad*, the first element is very like the first of *Farleton*, for which one might assume an earlier **færeltūn*. This does not satisfy me at all, however.

Farnworth [fānəþ]

1184-85. Farnewurd : L. P. R., 31, p. 55.
1246. { Farnwurth : / Farenwurth : } L. A. R., p. 25. / L. A. R., p. 73.
1253. Farnworth : L. F., i. p. 151.

1255. ffierneworth : L. F., i. p. 116.
1292. Fernworth : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1295. ffarneworth : Whall. Ch., T. II. xxxviii. p. 67.
1295. Farneworth : Orig. Rlls., p. 92.

The 'worþ among the fern,' O. E. *fearn*. Many names begin with this word in O. E. and Mod. Engl. See Skeat's remarks on p. 12 of Beds. Pl. Names, on *Farndish*. Cp. also *Farncombe* (Somers.), *Fernhurst* (Surrey), *Fearnleage*, Thorpe's Diplomat, p. 146 (ann. 900) the modern *Farleigh* (Hants.), etc., etc.

Fazakerley

1277. Fasakerlegh, H. de : L. A. R., p. 136.
1376.) 1381.) de Fasacrelegh : L. F., ii. p. 190. L. F., iii. p. 11.

I cannot agree with Harrison in his interpretation of the first element of this name, as O. E. *fæs*, 'fringe.' The name has the appearance of a rather late compound of the name of a certain 'field' or acre, with the further suffix- *leāh*. Thus the compound was, I take it, *Fasanæcer—leāh* ; that is the 'ley' by or near '*Fasa's* acre.' In C. D., iii. p. 316, we have *to fasandæles hyllæ*, 'the hill of Fasa dale' ; in C. D., 10, p. 157, *on Fasingafeld*. Here we appear to have the name *Fasa* well established ; in the first case the form is a genitive *fasa-n dæl*, 'dale of *Fasa*' ; in the second we have the usual form of a weak noun before the patronymic suffix *-ing- fasing=fasa-ing*. It is not exceeding the bounds of legitimate conjecture to assume a **Fasanæcer*, parallel to *Fasandæl*.

Fearnhead (Warrington)

1467. Fernyhed : L. F., iii. p. 132.
1512. Fernehede : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 18.
1565. Fearneheade juxta Waryngton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 43.

'Fern-covered hill.' Cp. *Farnworth* above.

Feasandford (near Burnley)[fezəntfuəd]

1496. Feasandford : L. F., iii. p. 145.
1608. Fezhantforthe in Brunley.

I suppose this means what it appears to mean. Animal names are common in connection with fords.

Featherstall

The first element of this and the following name is very rare as an element in Engl. pl. n. Besides these two places in Lancs., Bartholomew's Gazetteer mentions only three other places whose name contains it—all *Featherstone's*, in Northumb., Yorks.,

and Staffs. respectively. It is difficult to see what sense the element could have in a place name, taken in its obvious sense—O. E. *feðer*, 'feather,' unless we assume that 'the place of feathers' meant either a place frequented by birds, or one where there had been a celebrated slaughter of birds, say by hawks, and in which quantities of feathers had been scattered about. I can find no example of the word as an element of pl. ns. in the O. E. period. Again there is no evidence available that either O. E. *feðer*, or O. N. *Fjoðr* were used either singly or in composition in pers. ns. The Yorks. name appears as *Fedherstan* in an early thirteenth century document. Cp. Ind. Ch. and Rlls., p. 277.

Is it possible that the element was originally **fēder*, a mutated form of *fōdor*, 'fodder,' which underwent shortening of the first vowel in oblique cases in M. E.—e.g. *fĕdre-* etc., and that this form *fĕder* was altered to *feðer*, *feather*, by popular etymology? In this case **fēder-* might mean 'pasture ground,' 'pasturage,' or the place where 'keep' for cattle was stored. I must admit that this is purely conjectural, and the evidence, even for O. E. *fōdor* in a pl. n. is very meagre. Cp. early forms of *Furness* below. The second element of the word we started from is O. E. *steall*, 'cattle stall,' 'stable.'

A more probable solution than either of the above is that the first element is the pers. n. recorded by Searle in the form *Feader*, the name of a person who according to S. was a huscarl of King Harthacnut, and was killed at Worcester, 1041. This pers. n. is assumed also by Duignan as the first element of the Staffs. *Featherstone* (Staffs. Pl. Names, p. 60).

This pers. n. is exceedingly rare, since the above worthy is apparently the only recorded bearer. It is rather curious that so rare a name should occur in several place names in different counties. The spelling *Feader* is ambiguous, and leaves us in doubt as to its origin. It suggests O. E. *Fæder*, but certainly not *Feðer*. Cp. also next name.

Featherstone

1277. R. de Fayrstan : L. A. R., p. 135.
? 14th c. ffetherstan : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxxxv. p. 318

For first element see preceding name. The second appears from the early forms to be O. E. *stān*, 'rock,' 'stone.' The first form given above is clearly unconnected with the Mod. form of the name. It may have arisen from an early popular etymology of the name, on different lines from that which ultimately became fixed, *i.e. feðer* for *feder* (cp. suggestion under preceding

name). It must be noted that *-stan* for M. E. *-ston*, in the early forms above, must have been copied from an earlier document than the reputed date of the above, unless we assume that O. E. *stān* underwent here the regular shortening in unstressed syllables, before the rounding of *ā* to *ō*. In most cases, however, *-stōn* is restored from the independent word.

Feniscowles

1277. Feinycholes : L. A. R., p. 146.

'The hut, or shealing among the fens.' Cp. *Fenton* in Duignan's Staffs. Pl. Ns. For the second element, see O. N. *scāli*, etc. in Pt. II.

Finsthwaite

1337. Finnesthwait : Furn. Ch., p. 173.
1401. Fynnestwait : Furn. Ch., p. 205.

'The thwaite of *Finn*.' See the former element in Pt. II. On the pers. n., see Björkman (Nord. Pers. N. in England, p. 40), who says that although the name is found in England before the Danish period, it has always then a more or less mythological character. In D. B. it occurs (*Fin* and *Phin*), but has *danus*, or *dacus* after it, showing the origin of the bearer. In the pl. n. before us, we need not hesitate to ascribe to it an O. N. origin, seeing that *thwaite* only occurs in Scandinavian, and is unknown as an O. E. element. See *þveit* in Pt. II.

Firbank (Lanc.)

1283. Frithebancke : L. Inq., p. 258.
1301. Frithebank : L. F., i. p. 215.

'Forest hill or slope.' See etymology of and remarks on O. E. *fyrhðe* in Pt. II., also *banc*.

Fishwick

1086. Fiscuic : D. B., 301*b*.
1202. Fiswick : L. P. R., 49, p. 169.
1203. Fiskwic : L. F., i. p. 12.
1225. Fischwic : L. F., i. p. 45.
1252. Fiswic : L. Inq , p. 187.
1297. Fixwyk : L. Inq., p. 298.
1311. Fysshewyke : L. F., ii. p. 7.
1320-46. ffysshewyke : Wap. Sur., p. 48.
1385. de Fisshewyke : L. F., iii. p. 17.
1506. {Fisshewik : / Fisshwik :} L. F., iii. p. 160.

'The abode of Fish.' The first element is pretty certainly a pers. n., though it may refer to the creature. See this element, and *wīc* in Pt. II.

Fleetwood

1538-39. ffletewoode : Pr. Pen., p. 79.
1543. fletewod : Pr. Pen., p. 112.

Flixton

1327. ffluxton : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 104.
1506. Flixton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 10.
1500. Flyxton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 36.

Flookburgh

TYPE I.

1246-47. Flokeburg : L. A. R., p. 11.
1389. Flokeburghe : Furn. Ch., 430.
1394. Flokesburgh : L. F., iii. p. 44.

TYPE II.

1395. Flokeberew : Furn. Ch., 428.
1412. Flukeburwe : Furn. Ch., 66 (orig. doc., 1389).

This name is evidently a compound of the Norse pers. n. *Flōki*, and Engl. *burh*. Rygh (Gamle Pers. Navne, p. 72) mentions *Flōkeland*, *Flōketveit*, *Flōkenes*, all pl. ns. containing this element. Of the two types represented above, the former is from the nom., the latter from the oblique cases. For another example of the first element, cp. *Flokesthorp* alias *Floxthorp* (now called Hardingham, Norf.), Inq. of Hen. III., No. 443, p. 122. This name is not mentioned by Björkman (Nord. Pers. Names in Engl.).

Folds (Chorley)

1593. Foldes : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 63.
1612-13. Folds : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 75.

'The sheepfolds.' Cp. *fāld* in Pt. II.

***Fordbottle**

1227. Fordebotle : (fr. Furness Ch.) Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 18.
1229. Fordbotle : Cal. Rll. Ch., p. 36.

Formby

1203-04. Formebi : L. P. R., 50, p. 175.
1227. Forneby (twice) : Cal. Rll. Ch., p. 40.
1269. Fornebi : L. A. R., p. 245.

1292. { Forneby : Plac. Q. Warr., 379. / T. de N., 372.

1297. Fornethby : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 137, No. 51.

1509. Formby : L. F., iii. p. 167.

The 'dwelling of *Forni*.' Rygh (Gamle Pers. Navne, p. 73) says that *Forni* is a frequent man's name in Iceland. In pl. ns. it seems often to appear as *Fonne-*, e.g. *Fonnerud*, *Fonstad*. He quotes, however, the name *Fornebu*, which is identical with our Lancs. name. According to this Nos. 2 and 3 above are the most primitive forms. The change from *n* to *m* before *b* is natural. See *bȳr* in Pt. II.

Another Norse word, which in composition is indistinguishable from the pers. n., is *forn*, 'old' (Rygh, loc. cit.). Harrison, who wrote before Rygh's work was published, interprets *Formby* as 'old village,' which is less likely than above suggestion. Björkman has numerous references to the occurrence of the pers. n. in England. See his N. Pn. in Eng., p. 420. The form *Forneth-* of 1297 given above is puzzling. I have no suggestions to offer.

Forton

1086. Fortune : D. B., 301*b*.

1262. fforton : L. F., i. p. 141.

1292. Fortan : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.

Foulridge [fourig]

1218-19. Folric, A. de : L. A. R., p. 259.

1246-47. Folrigge, H. de : L. A. R., p. 87.

1252-56. Folrich, A. de : L. A. R., p. 264.

1261. Folrig : L. A. R., p. 235.

1296. Folrig : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 206.

1311. Folrigg : L. F., ii. p. 6.

The spelling of the early forms throws some doubt upon the obvious explanation suggested by the Mod. spelling.

***Four-oak-shaw** (near Rainford ?)

1315. Fourocschagh : L. F., ii. p. 21.

1327. Ffourokeshagh : F. M. S., p. 3.

1366. ffourokshagh : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 116.

'Four oak wood.' See *āc*, and *sċeaga* in Pt. II.

Foxhouses

1661. Foschowes, E. Baines of : Rich. Wills, p. 14.

It looks rather as if the Mod. form were a popular

etymology, and the second element were originally O. E. *hōh*, 'hill.' The metathesis shown in the form *Fosc-* for *fox* (sk) for (ks) is curious. Cp. remarks on p. 34 of Introduction.

Freckleton

Type I.

1086. Freckeltun : D. B., 301*b*.
1199. Frekeltun : L. F., i. p. 7.
1201-1202. Frekelton : L. P. R., 48, p. 151.
1246-49. Frekelton : L. A. R., pp. 34, 54.
1294. Frekiltone : De Lac. Comp., p. 10.
1311. Freckleton : De Lac. Inq., 22.
1320-46. ffrikelton : Wap. Sur., 44.
1326. Frekilton : Orig. Rlls., 296*b*.

Type II.

1201-02. Frekenton : L. P. R., 47, p. 132, and 48, p. 150.
1202-03. Frequinton : L. P. R., 49, p. 166.

Type III.

1200. Freketon : L. P. R., 47, p. 132.

French Lee (Preston)

1292. Lee Fraunceys : Place Q. Warr., 380.
1385. Frensshelee : L. F., iii. p. 25.

Cp. English Lee above.

***Frith-brook** (near Quernmore)

1094. Freibroc : Ch. I., ii., L. P. R., p. 289.
12th c. Freybroic : Lanc. Ch., 12.
1287. ffrythbroke : Ch. III., ii., L. P. R., p. 298.
1228. ffridbrok : Whal. Ch., Peramb. Lanc., p. 370.

'The brook in, or near the forest.' For first element cp. *Firbank* above, and *fyrhðe* below.

Fulshaw Head (Burnley)

1332. ffulshaghe, Henr. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 2.

The name has the same meaning as the following—'foul wood.' The *ū* of O. E. *fūl* is here shortened before the combination (lʃ).

Fulwood

1228. ffulwod : Whall. Ch., T. VI. p. 371.
1285. Fulewode, R. de : L. A. R., p. 207.
1373. Foulwode : J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii. 191.

'Foul wood.' See *fūl* and *wudu* in Pt. II.

The 1373 spelling *Foul-* conclusively establishes M. E. *fūl* for

first element. Its length here is due to the independent word. Normally it was shortened in this position. Cp. § 9 (5), p. 25.

Furness

Type I.

?1127. ffudernesio : Ch. I. N., L. P. R., p. 302.
1398. de Fodernesio : Furn. Ch., 185.
1401. Fudernesio : Furn. Ch., 200.

Type II.

1168-69. } Furneis : L. P. R., 15, p. 13.
1196. } Furnez : L. F., i. p. 4.
1228. Furneyse : Cl. Rll., iii. 38.
1235. Furneis : L. F., i. p. 68.
1247. Furness : L. Inq., pp. 51, 181.
1249. Furneus : L. Inq., p. 176.
1259. Furneys : Lanc. Ch,, 45.
1298. ffurneys : Lanc. Ch., 334 and passim (sixteen times).
1346. ffourneux : Wap. Sur., 66.
1401. Fourness-felle : Furn. Ch., 206.

All the forms in Type II. suggest the French word for 'furnace.' On the other hand Type I. suggests O. E. *fōdor*, 'fodder' as the first element. Is it possible that the name was *fodder-ness*, and that Type II. is the result of popular etymology ?

***Fylde-Plumpton**

1320-46. ffylde plumpeton : Wap. Sur., 46.

G

Gabbets (Clith)

1216-1307. Gerbot : T. de N., 398*b*.

Gaits Water (Coniston)

Geit is an O. N. pers. n. It is also found in Rtl. Hundr. and Freemen of York. See Björkman, N. Pn. in Engl., pp. 44 and 45). It occurs in another pl. n. in a document of 1332, *Gaytscale* : Lanc and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 93.

Rygh, Gaardn., ii. p. 322, gives the Scand. pl. n. *Gjeitsad* as derived from this name.

Gale (near Tunstall)

1465. Gale : Rymer's Fœd., v. Pt. II. p. 132.

Gambleside

1685-89. Gamblesyde : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 301.

The second element may be either O. E. *heafod* (cp. *Arnside*) ; or M. E. *sēte* (cp. *Cadishead*). The first element is the wide-

spread O. N. name *Gamall*, 'the old one.' It occurs in such Norse pl. ns. as *Gammelsrud, Gammelsröd, Gammalsgardr*. Cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. Navne, p. 79. It occurs also in a pl. n. in an O. E. Charter of 957—Gamafeld (C. D., v. p. 392)—and as the name of a sacristan, *Gamel*—in a grant of land in Norfolk (c. 1150), Crawf. Ch., No. xvi. l. 35, p. 33; also in Birch's Ch. in 1033, as a witness, and in C. D. 975 as that of a serf. See Searle. The name is frequent in D. B. as that of various persons holding land (T. R. E., Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 115). D. B. has it in a pl. n. in Notts., *Gamelestun*, 290. 2. The name further is found in the pl. n. *Gameleslegh* (Gamley, Cumb. ?) in a MS. transcript of Lay Subsidies, p. 24, ann. 1327, kindly lent me by Mr. Farrer; also in 1269, *Gamelisby*, Cumb., Inq. of Hen. III., p. 278, No. 811. It is represented by the Mod. English family name *Gamble*. For further information concerning it, see now Björkman, pp. 45 and 46.

Garstang [gjāstin]

Type I.

1086. Cherestanc: D. B., 301*b*.
1204-05. Geirstan: L. P. R., 51, p. 192.
1206. Guegrestang: Lanc. Ch., p. 386.
1208. Geersteng: L. F., i. p. 26.
1230. Gerstang: Lanc. Ch., p. 302.
1246. Gayersteng: L. F., i. p. 106.
1249. Gayrestange: Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 5, No. 45.
1256. Geyrstang: L. F., i. p. 121.
1304. } Gairstang: { L. F. i., p. 204.
1392. } { L. F., iii. p. 39.
1320-46. Gerstang: Wap. Sur., 30.
1505. Garstang: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 4.
1535-43. { Garstane } Leland, iv. p. 9.
{ Garston }
1567. Gairstange: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 41.

Type II.

1204-05. Greston: L. P. R., 51, p. 190.

Type I., from which the Mod. form is derived seems to be pure Norse. The first element is the pers. n. *Geirr*, which in Mod. Norw. occurs in several pl. ns. in the form *Gjek*, as in *Gjeksrud*> *Geirsrud, Gjekstad*>*Geirstaδ*. Cp. Rygh, N. Gn., ii. p. 38, On the name *Geirr*, cp. also Rygh, Gamle Pers. Navne, p. 85. The second element is O. N. **stang*, 'spear or goad,' cp. vb. *stanga*, 'prick, goad.' The word here probably refers to a pike-staff,

or pole, set up as a boundary or landmark. The D. B. spelling is merely a foreigner's attempt to render an unfamiliar collection of sounds. The other spellings express the O. N. diphthong in first element. Type II. is a confusion with the old form of *Garston* (q.v.).

Garston

1093-94. Gerstan : Ch. I. i., L. P. R., p. 224.
1142. Gerestan(am) : Ch. VIII. i., L. P. R., p. 279.
1153-60. Grestan : Ch. XIV. i., L. P. R., p. 286.
1205-06. Gahersteng : L. P. R., 52, p. 204.
1297. Garstan : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 137, No. 51.
1315. 1377. 1509. Garstan : L. F., ii. p. 21. L. F., iii. p. 2. L. F., iii. p. 167.

The above spellings point to the fact that the second element was originally not *-tūn*, but *-stān*. The first element is apparently O. E. *gærs*, *græs*, 'grass.' On the other hand it is possible that it is a form of *Geirr* (see preceding name). Even if this be the original source of the first element, No. 3 seems to show that it was confused with the O. E. word for 'grass,' and we should hardly get metathesis in the Norse name. *Gres-*, and *gers-* would, however, both be quite normal, as representing the two O. E. forms given above. No. 4 shows confusion of the second element with that of *Garstang*.

Garswood (Wigan)

1479. Gartiswode : L. F., iii. p. 137.
1644. Garsewood : Duc. Lanc., i. p.

The 'wood of *Garðr*.' This name was according to Rygh (Gamble Pers. Names, p. 79) a universal name in Norway. The Mod. Norw. names generally have *Gars-* in first syllable—*Garsegg*, *Garsvik*, *Gastad*, *Garshol*.

Gascow (near Dalton)

1220-46. Garthscoh-lac : cit. Farrer. L. P. R., p. 300, 'in a Ch. of William de Lancaster'; no further reference.
1412. Garscowe : Furn. Ch., p. 63.

The 'wood of Garth.'

Gateacre

One of these names whose elements are comparatively easy to determine, and which suggest so little. The first element is certainly not O. E. *gāt*, which would give Mod. Engl. *goat*. It is apparently O. N. *gata*, 'road, way.' 'Road acre' does not

convey much meaning. Does it mean a field with a road through it, or one at the side of a road? Cp. *Gateley* in W. Norfolk.

It is of course possible that the first element may be the O. N. pers. n. *Geit* (cp. *Gait's Water* above), or the Norse *geitr*, a 'goat,' though the present spelling is rather against this.

Gathurst (Wigan)

c. 1509-1520. Gatehurst: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 191.

For first element of remarks under *Gateacre*. For the second, see *hyrst* in Pt. II.

Gawthorpe Hall (Burnley) [gō̆þrəp, J. H. H.]

The first element is probably the same pers. n. as in succeeding word. For the second see *þorp* in Pt. II. Note, however, that Yorks. *Gawthorpe*, or *Gowthorpe*, appears in K's Inq. as *Golthorp*, *Gouthorp*. The latter form also occurs, Cal. Rotl. Ch. (1275), p. 106.

Gawxholm (Rochdale)

1521. Gawkeholme: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 23.
Gaukeholme: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 4.

1523-24. Gaukholme: Duc. Lanc., p. 21.

1588. Gawckhowe, Robt. Herrison of: Rich. Wills., p. 146.

The first element is apparently the O. N. pers. n. *Gaukr*. Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 81) cites *Gauksþorp*, *Gaukstad*, *Gauksaasen*, *Gauksdal*, etc. See *holm* in Pt. II.

Björkman says the pers. n. *Gauk* is frequent in the Hundr. Rlls., and Freemen of York (N. Pn. in Engl., p. 49).

Glasebrooke

1227. Glasbroc: L. F., i. p. 47.

1301. Glasebrok: L. F., i. p. 193.

1340. Glasebroke: L. F., ii. p. 196.

Probably 'glassy brook.' In O. E. *glæs* is used as a symbol of brightness. Cp. *beorhtre þonne glæs, þæt neb lixeþ swa glæs oððe ġim*, cit. B.-T.

Glasson [glazn] (Thurnam, Lanc.)

1587-88. Glasson: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 50.

Gleaston

1246-47. Cleston: L. A. R., pp. 100, 101, 103.

1269. Gleston: L. A. R., p. 243.
Gleseton: L. A. R., p. 247.

It is rather curious that *Glistun*, one of the Devonshire places now called *Clyst*, is found ann. 1001, Parker Chron., Plummer's ed., i. p. 132. G. is certainly written for *c* here, and the name may perhaps be related to O. E. *clyster*, Engl. 'cluster,' in which case **Clyst-tun* would perhaps mean 'a group or collection of dwellings,' thus having the same meaning as *þorp*, which see in Pt. II. *Glesston* has, perhaps, the same origin, though there are difficulties connected with the form. In the first place the change of initial *C* to *G* is puzzling, although, if the 1246 form be genuine, it has actually occurred in this name. The converse change of *G* to *C* (*K*) is fairly frequent in Lancs. Names, cp. *Cunliffe*, *Cringleber*, *Conder*, etc. above. Again the vowel offers difficulties. I do not understand how O. E. *y* could be represented by *e* in Lancs. in a stressed syllable, in the thirteenth century.

Glest (no longer exists)

1276. Glest, A. de : L. A. R., p. 130.
1339. Glest : L. F., ii. p. 110.
1537. Glest : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 155.

See remarks on *Gleaston* above.

Glodwick

1246-47. Glothicke, R. de : L. A. R., p. 72.
1307. } Glotheyk : { L. F., i. p. 210.
1347. } { L. F., ii. p. 125.
1540. { Glodyth : } Duc. Lanc., i. p. 33.
{ Glodethe : }

None of the earlier forms suggest the Mod. suffix, which is probably a mere map-maker's form. The name is probably pronounced (glodik), locally in any case. I can make nothing of the word.

Godwinscales (no longer exists ?)

1283. Godwinscales : L. Inq., p. 256.

'The huts, or shealings of *Gōdwine*.' See O. E. *scale*, Pt. II.

Golborne (Wigan) [goubərn]

1246-47. Goldburne, H. de : L. A. R., p. 115.
1276. Golburne : L. A. R., p. 131.
1320. Goldeburn :
1334. Goldburne : Pr. Pen., p. 15.
1639. Goulborne : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 97.

'Golden stream' ? See *burne*, etc. Pt. II.

Goodber (Roeburndale)

1588. Goberthwayte : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 55.

The Mod. name appears to be a shortened form of an original compound. It is probably a pers. n., and one would be inclined to suggest O. E. **Gōdbeorg*, or O. N. **Gōðbjorg*. Unfortunately neither of these names appears to be recorded so far as I can discover. *Godbeorht*, it is true, is mentioned by Searle, but only as the name of a Lombard king, and once more from a late source, in the time of the Conqueror.

Goosnargh [gūznər]

Type I.

1086. Gusansarghe : D. B., 301*b*.
1206-20. Gozenare, de : Gosenarghe, de : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 234.
1226. Gosannesareghe : P. R. Hen. III., I. Inq., p. 139.
1241. Gosnar : L. F., i. p. 86.
1246-47. Gozsenarch : L. A. R., p. 12. Gosenharegh : L. A. R., p. 15.
1283. Gosenare : L. F., i. p. 160.
1292. Gosenargh : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1315. Gosenargh : L. F., ii. p. 22.
1320-46. Gosenarghe : Wap. Sur., 2, 56.
1322. Gosnargh : L. F., ii. p. 47.
1330. Gosenarch : Lanc. Ch., p. 446.
1411. Gosenare : L. F., iii. p. 83.
1468. Gosnergh : L. F., iii. p. 134.
1593. Goosnargh, Jenet Bayliffe of : Rich. Wills, p. 25.
1597. Gousnor : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 63.
1680. Goosnergh, Thos. Bateson of : Rich. Wills, p. 24.

Type II.

1226. Gosanesarwe : P. R. Hen. III., L. Inq., p. 139.
1270. Gosenarw : L. A. R., p. 250.
1290. Gossenarwe : L. Inq., p. 274.

'The *hearh* or hill, or temple of *Gōsa*.' *Gosanwelle*, C. D., iii. p. 415, and Birch Ch., ii. p. 479 (cit. Searle) contains this pers. name. A *Gos* is mentioned in D. B. among the landowners previous to the Survey (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 130). The same name apparently is the first element in the D. B. pl. n. *Goseford* (Shrop.); *Gosewelle* (Devon). Cp. also perhaps *Patricius de*

Gosewishe, Feod. Pri. Dunelm, p. 228. The first element in *Goseford* may, however, refer to the bird, as *fords* appear to be often named after animals. For the second element, see *hærh*, Pt. II.

Gorton (Manch.)

1332. Gorton, Thom. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 10.

Perhaps the '*tun* of *Gort*,' a pers. n. mentioned by Searle as occurring in D. B.

***Gosfordsiche**

1200. Gosfordesich, A. de : Scar. Ch., 5, 261.
1283. Gosefordesiche : L. Inq., 259.
1324. Gosefordsiche : L. C. R., p. 46.
1336. Goseforsich : Scar. Ch., 64, 266.
1332. Gosefordsik : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 5.

The sike, or runnel by *Gosford*, which itself is probably simply Gooseford. Fords are often named after animals, but the element may be a pers. n. Cp. under *Goosnargh* above. See *Gōs* and *ford* and *sīc* in Pt. II.

Graythwaite (Hawkshead)

? 13th c. Grathpeyte : } Lanc. Ch., p. 177 (the p in this form,
Grathwayt : } Lanc. Ch., p. 189 perhaps for O. E. p=*w*).
1337. Graythwat : Furn. Ch., 173.
1401. Graythwait : Furn. Ch., p 205.

'The grey farmstead.' See *græg* and *þveiti* in Pt. II.

Greenhalgh [grīnəl]

1086. Greneholf : D. B., 301*b*.
1212. Grenhole : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 37.
1216-20. Grenhole : } Ch. III. xxi., L. P. R., p. 440.
Grenol : } Ch. IV. xxi., L. P. R., p. 441.
1242-43. Grenele : Sc. of Garc. L. Inq., p. 153.
1244. Grenehol : L. Inq., p. 159.
13th c. Gernole, R. de : Lanc. Ch., 403.
1315. Grenehulles : L. F., ii. p. 22.
1332. Grenolf : Lay Subs., L. and C. Misc., ii. p. 2.
1421. Grenehalgh : Cat. Anc. Dds., C. 2222, vol. ii. p. 495.
1576. Grenehowe : alias Greneholle : } Duc. Lanc., i. p. 47.

1607. Greenall, Thos. Kirkham of : Rich. Wills., p. 177.
1618. Greenall, Will Whitehead of :
1623. Greenoe, Henry W. of : } Rich. Wills, p. 307.
1678. Greenough, Rich. W. of :
1662. Greenhalgh, Thos. Kirkham of : Rich. Wills, p. 177.
1668. Greenalgh, Jeneta Kirkham of : Rich. Wills., p. 176.

The evidence of the above forms points to the present spelling, being on the whole a very late one. There is only one example of it before the seventeenth century. The identity of the second element in the early forms is doubtful. The forms in *-hole, ole, -hol, -ol,* are apparently from O. E. *hāle* (oblique case of *halh*). *-olf* is probably from the nom. of same word. The forms in *-how, -oe, ough,* appear to be due to confusion with O. E. *hōh* (q. v.). The *-halgh* spelling is imitated from some other name containing the element in this form. See discussion under *halh* in Pt. II. The D. B. spelling is difficult to account for. The final *f* may be a Norman scribe's attempt to represent O. E. *h* in this position. The *o* at this date I cannot account for.

Greenholm Farm (Barrow-in-Furness)

1205. Greneholm : Cal. Roll. Ch., p. 22.

See *grēn* and *holmr* in Pt. II.

Greenscoe (Dalton)

1339. Greneschow : Furn. Ch., p. 175.
1401. Grenescogh : Furn. Ch., p. 206.

'Green wood.' O. N. *skōgr.* The first form, in *-schow* seems to be a mixed form between the O. N. word and the O. E. cognate *sċeaga.* Cp. next name.

Greenshaw (Nelson)

1265. Grenesho : L. A. R., p. 239.

'Greenwood.' The second element in the thirteenth century form appears to be due to a confusion between O. E. *sċeaga* and the O. N. cognate *skōgr*, having the initial consonant of the former, and the vowel of the latter. Cp. preceding name.

Greeta River (Tunstall)

1332. Gretebrek, Joh. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 91.

This form refers to the slope by the side of the river, or perhaps simply to the banks, and not to the river itself. River names as a rule are not English, though some undoubtedly are. The

final syllable of *Greeta* may easily be O. E. *ēā*, 'river, water,' and the first element, if not a Celtic word, may be either O. E. *great*, 'great,' or connected with O. E. *grētan*, 'to weep,' and may refer to the sound of the water. Or it may be O. E. *grēot*, M. S. *grēt*, 'gravel, shingle.' These are pure guesses, quite unconfirmed by any documentary evidence.

Gressingham

1086. Ghersinctone : D. B., 301*b*.
1202. Gersingeham : L. F., i. p. 12.
1212. Gersi[n]gham : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 96.
Ante 1225. Guersingham : Lanc. Ch., p. 20.
1235. } Gersengham : { L. F., i. p. 71.
1292. } { L. F., i. p. 172 and Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1346. Gersingham : Wap. Sur., 3, 66.
Ante 1372. Girsingham : Furn. Ch., 224.
1537. Gressyngham : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 35.

The suffix here is probably O. E. *hām* (q. v. in Pt. II.), since it appears to replace an earlier *tūn* (cp. D. B. form). The question remains, what is *gersing-* ? In spite of the prejudice which appears to exist against ever explaining *-ing* as a noun meaning 'field,' I can have little doubt that *Gersing-* means simply 'grass field.' See O. E. *gærs*, and *ing* in Pt. II.

Greystoneley

1200-01. Grimestonlyd : L. P. R., 47, p. 131.
1662. Grastonlee, R. Parker of : } Rich. Wills., p. 207.
1671. Graystonleigh, Agnes Parker of : } p. 208.

The 'slope by *Grimmestūn*.' The final element is O. E. *hlið* (q. v. in Pt. II.). This is a remarkable instance of an absolute change in the form of a name, due probably to popular etymology.

Grimsargh

TYPE I.

1086. Grimesarge : D. B., 301*b*.
1189. Grimesherham : Ch. I. xxi., L. P. R., p. 437.
1242-43. Grimisharg : Sc. of Gasc., L. Inq., p. 151.
1244. Grimsarche : L. Inq., p. 158.
1245. Grimsharg : L. Inq., p. 160.
1249. Grimisharg : L. Inq., p. 170.
1251. Grimisharg : Inq. Post Mortem, 35 Hen. III., No. 5 (cit. Hist. Meols., p. 10).
1257. Grimesharche : L. Inq., p. 204.

1297. Grymeshargh : L. Inq., p. 289.
1301. Greymesargh : L. F., i. p. 192.
1320-46. Grymesarghe : Wap. Sur., 38.
1351. Grymesargh : L. F., ii. p. 131.
1378. Grymser : L. F., iii. p. 5.
1572. Grimsore : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 48.
1597. Grimsargh, Geo. Rogerson of :
1632. Grimser, Jas. R. of :
1672. Grimsargh, Grace R. of : } Rich. Wills., p. 236.

Type II.

1246-47. Grimeshark, R. de : L. A. R., p. 87.

Type III.

1246-47. Grimesaruwe, W. de : L. A. R. (Rll. 21), i. p. 61.

'Grimm's temple, or grove,' cp. *hærh* in Pt. II. *Grimm* and *Grīmr* were both common O. N. pers. ns. See evidence of their frequent occurrence in England in the early period, in Björkman, N. Pn. in Engl., p. 50.

Grimshaw (Blackburn)

1284. Grymeschawe, A. and R. de : L. A. R., p. 181 (2cl.).
1311. Grimeschagh : De Lac. Inq., 12.
1441. Grymeshagh : L. F., iii. p. 108.
1535. Grymshay : Townley Rll., p. 2. (Refers to place, also occurs as proper name, George Grymshay, p. 4.)

The 'shaw' or wood of Grimm. See O. E. *sċeaga* in Pt. II. The early spellings with *-schawe, schagh* make this certain. Björkman's conjecture that the form was *Grimes haga* is apparently based only on the modern form. See Björkman's N. Pn. in Engl., p. 51. The 1535 form, however, certainly looks as if confusion had taken place between the original suffix and the O. E. word *hæġe*, 'enclosure,' though as this is a late form it proves nothing with regard to the original form of the suffix.

Grisehead

1259. Griseheuet : L. Inq., p. 224.
1261. Griseheued : L. A. R., p. 235.
1292. Gryseheued : Lanc. Ch., p. 42.

1306. Griseheued : L. Inq., p. 320.
1332. Grisehed : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 99.

For first element see next word. For second element see O. E. *hēāfod* in Pt. II.

Grizedale

1332. Grisdale, Simon de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. iii. p. 94.
1337. Grisedale : Furn. Ch., 173.
1401. Grizedale : Furn. Ch., 205.

The first element is the O. N. pers. n. *Grīso*, known in Iceland and in Denmark (cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 97). Norse pl. ns. are *Griset*, earlier *Grisetter* ; *Gresli* ; earlier *Griislidh* ; *Gristad*. Björkman (N. Pn. in Engl., p. 52) finds this pers. n. in the Rot. Hundr., ii. p. 119, and in the Register of the Freemen of York, p. 120, etc. The pl. n. *Grysethorp*, *Griseby*, Grisethwaite also occur in D. B.. Cp. Björkman.

Grubhead ?

1224. Grubbeheued : L. F., i. p. 44.

The first element must be a pers. n.—**Grubba*, or some such form. It is not recorded in old documents, but exists in the Mod. family name *Grubbe*, etc.

Gummer's How or **Gunner's How** (hill near Windermere)

We have here, apparently, the Scand. n. *Gunnar*, which is found in many English documents of the Old and Middle period For references, see Björkman (N. Pn. in Engl., pp. 54 and 55.). The corresponding Old English name is *Gūþhere*. For *How* see *Hōh* in Pt. II. below. For another Lancs. pl. n. containing *Gunnar*, see *Gunnerthwaite* below.

Gunnell's Fold (Wigan)

1258. Gunnildisford : L. Inq., p. 214.

Gunnell is the O. N. feminine pers. n. *Gunnhildr*. The second element shows an interchange between O. E. *fāld* (q. v. Pt. II.) and *ford*. Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 104) give several Norse pl. ns. containing this pers. n. *Gunnildrud*, *Gunnildgaard*, *Gunnildstad*. *Gunild* occurs as the name of a tenant in chief at the time of the Doomsday Survey (Ellis's Introd., ii. p. 136.) The name is also found written *Gunnyld* in 1332. Exchequer Lay Subsidy, Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 93. It occurs further in the Yorks. Pl. N. *Gunthwaite*, which is spelt *Gonnildthweyt* in a grant of 1334. Cp. Ind. Ch. and Rlls., i. p. 319.

Gunnell's Moors

1329. Gonolfemores : Whall. Ch., T. v. xliii. p. 268.
Gunnolvesmore : T. de N., 403.
Cp. also Farrer's notes, L. P. R., p. 375.

Gunnulfr was a common O. N. pers. n. Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 106) gives several pl. ns. compounded with it—*Gunnelsby, Gunnulfestrond, Gundelstad, Gunnilsbu*, etc., etc. The form *Gunnulfus* occurs D. B. as that of a person holding land at the time of the Survey (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 138). The name also occurs in the pl. n. *Gunnulfestone*, etc. (Notts.), D. B., 293. 2 ; and *Gunnolveston*, Plac. Abbrev., p. 23, 1 John. In addition to the D. B. reference above given, Björkman (N. Pn. in Engl., p. 58) gives also *Gunnolf* from Liber Vitae.

Gunnerthwaite (Melling)

1633. Gunnerthwait, Geo. Beakbaine of : Rich. Wills, p. 26.

The ' thwaite of *Gunnar*.' On this pers. n. cp. *Gunner's How* above. I came across a person in Berkshire quite recently bearing the name of *Guntrip*, which must be from **Gunnarþrep*.

H

Habergham Eaves or **Habringham** [æbəgm eivz, æbədžm, J. H. H.]

1269. Habercham : L. Inq., p. 235.
13th c. Habringeham : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 322.
1406-07. Habryngham : L. F., iii. p. 68.

The first element is apparently the pers. n. *Hæðbeorh* (cp. C. D., iii. p. 391 (849) ; or *Hæðburh*, cp. *Heðburge dene*, C. D., iii. p. 135, and *Hāðeburge hlēāwe*, C. D., v. p. 313 (947). The second element is O. E. *hām* (q. v. Pt. II.). See also O. E. *efes* in Pt. II.

Hackensall

Type I.

1199-1200. Hacumeho : L. P. R., 46, p. 116.
1199. Hacunesho : L. F., i. p. 9.
1200-01. Hacumesho : L. P. R., 47, p. 129.
1201-02. Aykenesho : L. P. R., 48, p. 152.
1205. Hacunshow : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 67, and passim to 1286, pp. 67-86.
1206-35. Hacunshaw : Cal. Ch. D. of L., No. 10, p. 163.
1227. Hacunesho : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 39.
1246. Hakonesho : L. F., i. p. 96.

1256-57. Hacueshou : Lanc. Ch., p. 411. (Haconeshu usual form in Lanc. Ch.).
1261. Hacunesho : L. Inq., p. 229.
?1276. Hacuneshawe : Lanc. Ch., 25.
1292. Hakuneshou : Plac. Q. Warr., 377.
1297. Hauconeshawe : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 137, No. 51.
1335. Hacunsowe : L . F., ii. p. 95.
1320-46. Hakenshow : Wap. Sur., 2, 54.
1357. Haconeshow : L. F., ii. p. 151.
1395. Haconeshowe : L. F., iii. p. 45.

TYPE II.

1245. Hakinshal : L. Inq., p. 160.

The orginal name was evidently the '*hough*,' O. E. *hōh*, or 'hillock' of *Hākon*. It is curious that the type which has survived in the Mod. name should be so little represented in M. E. documents. The *-hal* in the present name must be referred either to O. E. *heall*, 'hall,' or to O. E. *-halh*, on which see remarks in Pt. II. For the O. N. pers. n. *Hākon*, cp. Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., pp. 111 and 112). Norw. pl. n. containing *Hākon-* are —*Haakenby*, *Haakenstad*, *Haakensgaarden*, etc. See *hōh* in Pt. II.

Hacking

1246-47. Hakun, J. de : L. A. R., p. 98.
1278. Hackyng : L. F., i. p. 153.
1283. Hakkyng : Whall. Ch., T. v. iii. p. 191.

The earliest form goes to show that the suffix *-ing* is not original, though this is perhaps not conclusive. It is possible that the real suffix may have been lost leaving only the gen. sing. of a pers. n. *Hacca*. *Haccan brōc* is noted by Searle as occurring in C. D., No. 1151. *Hăken* would become *Haking* quite normally. Cp. p. 35 above. In this case the name would mean simply '*Hacca's*.' Mod. designations of fields, houses, barns, etc., are often popularly formed on this principle, but I am not convinced that they are common in early times. Cp., however, *Wigan* below, which is a possible case of a weak gen.

Hagg (B. in F.)

1339.) Hagg : Furn. Ch., 175.
1597.) Duc. Lanc., i. p. 63.

O. N. *Hagi* corresponds to O. E. *haga*, 'fence, fenced place' (q. v.) Pt. II.), and means a 'garden,' also a 'fenced field or pasture.' Cleasby-Vigf. says *Hagi* is frequently the name of a farm in Landnamabok.

Haigh

1278. Haugh : L. A. R., p. 162.
1292. Haghe : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1312. Hagh : L. F., ii. p. 9.

Haighton

1086. Halctun : D. B., 301*b*.
(1) 1212. Halicton : Gt. Inq., I. Inq., p. 51.
(2) 1245. Halgton : L. Inq., p. 160.
(3) 1311.\ 1446./ Halghton : {L. F., ii. p. 8 (in Amounderness). {L. F., iii. p. 112 (nr. Preston).

According to forms 2 and 3 above, the original name would mean the *-tūn* by or near the *halh* (q. v. Pt. II.). No. 1 above seems a fanciful and ignorant spelling, which suggests O. E. *hālig*, ' holy.' It is very doubtful whether M. E. *Halghtūn* could ever have developed naturally into *Haighton*, and I am inclined to think that the Mod. form is due to a compound entirely different from the above forms, i.e. with M. E. *haigh*. See this form under pl. n. *Haigh*, and O. E. *haga* in Pt. II.

Hale

1094. ad Halas : Lanc. Ch., 10.
1176-77. de Hales : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1262.\ 1292./ Hale : {L. F., i. p. 138. {Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*, 378*b*, etc.
1292. Halgh : Plac. Q. Warr., 387*b*.
1327. Hale : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 104.

' At the *halgh*.' See discussion on this word in Pt. II. It is difficult to account for the Mod. form unless we assume that it arose in a compound. The oblique cases of O. E. *halh* would be *hāle* (dat.), etc. This would give M. E. *hōle*, as explained in Pt. II., if it preserved its stress. In such positions as *-hāle*, however, it would be shortened in M .E., though still written *-hale*. A spelling pronunciation of this would lead to (*heil*) in compounds. Another possibility is that an O. E. *hăle* may have arisen, on the analogy of *hălh*, side by side with the normal *hāle*. This analogical form would be lengthened to *hāle* in M. E., and would give *hale* (heil, hēl), etc. as a Mod. form.

Halewood

1524-25. Halewood.

See remarks on preceding name, and *wudu* in Pt. II.

Halliwell

1246. Haliwell : L. A. R., p. 7.
1292.
1295. } Haliwall : { Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
Whall. Ch., T. II. xxxviii. p. 68.
1332. Haliwalle : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 38.

'Holywell.' See O. E. *hālig*, and *wella* in Pt. II. The vowel in first element of Mod. form is accounted for by early shortening of *ā* to *a* in O. E. inflected *hālġe*<*hălġe*. For interchange of M. E. *-well*, and *-wall*, cp. *Aspinall* above.

Hallsall

1224. Haleshal : L. F., i. p. 24.
1312. Halesale : Orig. Rlls., 191*b*.
1320-46. Halsale : Wap. Sur.[1], 36.
1394. Halsalle : Furn. Ch., p. 532.

Presumably either the '*halh*,' or 'hall' of *Halla*; see next name.

Hallstead

TYPE I.

1246-47. Hallestud : L. A. R., p. 20.
1256-58. Hallested : Lanc. Ch., p. 207.
1292. Hallestede : L. F., i. p. 168.
Late 13th c. Hallestud : Lanc. Ch., 191.
1329. Hallestudes : Whall. Ch., T. v. xlii. p. 257.
1333. Hallested : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxxviii. p. 313.
1397. Halestedes : L. F., iii. p. 53.

TYPE II.

1347. Hausted : Furn. Ch., p. 139.

The 'place of *Halla*.' This name, according to Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 112), is only found in one instance in Norway, but was universal in Iceland. It occurs in the pl. n. *Holleby*. Type II. shows diphthongisation of *a* before *-l*. See *stede* in Pt. II.

Halton [hɔ̄tn]

1233.
1311. } Halton : { L. F., i. p. 58.
1376. } { L. F., ii. p. 7.
{ L. F., ii. p. 191.
1270 or end 13th c. Hauton : Lanc. Ch.
The 'tūn' of *Halla*? See the two preceding names.

? Haltonsty (land in Bolton)

End 13th c. Haltunesty : Lanc. Ch., 177.

'The footpath,' or 'pass,' by *Halton*. See O. E. *stīg* in Pt. II.

Hambleton

1086. Hameltune : D. B., 301*b*.
1229. Hamelton : Cl. Rlls., iii. 158.
1262. Hamelton : L. F., i. p. 137.
Cp. also Lanc. Ch., 377, and Furn. Ch., p. 685, documents of about same date as above.
1292. Hamelton : Plac. Q. Warr., 377.
1320-46. Hamelton : Wap. Sur.^{2}, 52.

The '*tūn*' of *Hamela* (O. E.). *Hambledon* (Hants.) appears in an O. E. Ch. as *Hamelendun* (C. D., iv. p. 114.).

Hampsfell

1282. Hamesfelle : Furn. Ch., 381.
1292. { Hamefel : / Hameffeld : } Plac. Q. Warr., 381 and 387*b*.
1314. Hamesfell : L. F., ii. 16.
1307. Hameffel, J. de : Parl. Writs, ii. p. 15.

A name *Hāma* or *Hama* ? occurs L. V., 210, Sweet's O. E. T., p. 159, and Müller, § 37, 1, and the name is recorded several times besides in O. E. documents, coins, etc. (See Searle.) I do not know on what grounds the name is included by Sweet under O. E. *ā*. If the above pl. n. had contained *ā* in the first syllable, the M. E. forms would have been *Hōmesfell*, etc., unless shortening had taken place before the period of rounding. It is quite possible that such forms as the gen. *Hāmes-* in pl. ns. may have been contracted to **Hāms-* before the suffix, as early as the late O. E. period, in which case shortening to *Hăms-* would take place in M. E. There is also a name *Hamo* recorded by Searle as occurring in D. B. One or other of these names, if indeed they be different, is apparently the first element in *Hammespol*, C. D., i. p. 85 (Kt., 724) ; *Hamesbei* (Norf.), D. B., p. 197 ; *Hametuna*, D. B., i. p. 184 (Norf.). For the second element of *Hampsfell*, see O. N. *fjall* in Pt. II.

Hapton [æptən]

1246-47. Hapton : L. A. R., p. 24.
1296. Hapton : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 205.

Note that *Hapesburc* (Norf.) occurs D. B., 133*b* ; *Hapinga*, D. B., 133*b*.

Harbarrow (Aldingham) ?

Hardhorn

1298. Hordern : Lanc. Ch., pp. 70 and 76.
1320-46. Horderne : Wap. Sur., 2. 54.
1349. Horderne : Cal. Roll. Ch., p. 180.
1384. Horderne : Lanc. Ch., p. 527.
1590. Hardhorne : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 59.
1603-70. Hardhorne, Silcocke of : Rich. Wills., passim, cp. p. 252.
1676. Hard Horne, Jas. Silcocke of : Rich. Wills, p. 252.

The early forms seem to point clearly to O. E. *hord ærn*, 'treasure place,' 'treasury.' See *hord*, and *ærn* in Pt. II. On the other hand there are grounds for believing that *-rd-*, as in the first three forms might have developed out of O. E. *-rþ-*, just as *-lþ-* in pl. ns. became *-ld-*. Cp. *Souldern* (Oxf.) from earlier *Sulþorn* (English Ch., passim), and *Souldrop* (Beds.), from earlier *Sulþorp* (cp. Skeat's Beds. Pl. Ns.). An O. E. *hārþorn*, *hārþyrne*, 'ancient or boundary thorn,' might become M. E. **hōrdorn*, **hōrdirn*. In any case, the later forms show a change which can only be due to popular etymology of some kind. See remarks under *hār*, and *þorn* in Pt. II.

Thorns were frequently used as boundary and landmarks, and we find—*ongean þone hāran þorn* in C. D., v. p. 194 (931).

***Hardshaw**

1536. Hardshaghe in Wyndle : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 54.

Hare Appletree

1202. Herdhappetire [sic] : L. F., i. p. 15.

The Mod. name suggests O. E. *hār*, 'old' (see under *Hardhorn* above, and in Pt. II.), as a first element. The early form seems badly spelt all round.

Harterbeck

1609. Hartherbeck, Joh. Bateson of :
1680. Harterbeck, Rich. Bateson of : } Rich. Wills, p. 24.

Hart's Barrow (Grange) ?

1332. Hertbergh : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 102.

'Hart's hill.' O. E. *heorot* means 'a stag, hart.' See *beorg* in Pt. II.

Harwood, Great

1227. Harwude : L. F., i. p. 48.
1298. Great Harewoode in Blakeburneshyre : L. F., i. p. 183.
1328. Harrewode : L. F., ii. p. 49.

'Old wood.' See *hār* and *wudu* in Pt. II. There is a Harewood in Worcs.

Haselhurst

1332. Haselhurst : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 38.

'Hazel wood.' See *hæsel* and *hyrst* in Pt. II.

Haskayne (Ormsk)

1366. Haiskeen, Emmot de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 112.

Apparently the same as *Heskin* below. I can make nothing of either form.

Haslingden

1246-47. Aselindene : Heselindene : L. A. R., p. 90.
Haselendene : L. A. R., p. 74.
Aschiling, H. de, ofAselindene : Also Capil of Aschelindene. L. A. R., p. 90.
1296. Haslingden :
1298. Haslyngden : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 206. xxi. p. 214.
1332. Haselinden : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 74.
1400. Hasselyngden : Minister's Accts., p. 78.

'The dean of *Askelin*'? or simply the '*hasel dene*'? The above forms are somewhat confused. It is possible that the L. A. R. forms throw most light, and that the first element is *Askelin-* a variant of O. N. *Asketill*, *Askell*, q. v. under *Astley* above. On the interchange of suffix *-il*, and *-in* in Norse names in *-ketill*, see remarks below under *Rossendale*. See also discussion of this point by Björkman (Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., pp. 17-20), where the various forms of *Askel*, etc., will be found. I note that Björkman, loc. cit., points out the existence of some degree of uncertainty as to the identity of *Askelinus* with *Askel*, *Askil*, etc., since in the former we have both endings, *-il* and *-īnus*. I think the doubts are set at rest by the fact that Mr. Round (Feudal England, p. 158) identifies the person called *Azelinus* (D. B., 221*b*), with *Ascelinus*, of Descriptio militum de Abbatia de Burgo, which document also refers to this person as *Asketillus*.

For this man, D. B. by the side of *Azelinus* above mentioned has also the very primitive *Anschitillus*, 221*b* and 345*b*.

As regards the Mod. form of the pl. n. before us, it is clear that if the suggested explanation of the first element be right, an early confusion with M. E. *hasel*, 'hazel tree,' took place. The unstressed *-in* becomes *-ing* as in *Adlington*, from **Aðelwin-*. Cp. this name above. See *dene* in Pt. II.

Perhaps, however, the more likely explanation is that the first element is simply *hæsel*, 'hazel,' with the adjectival suffix *-en*. Cp. *Withen-tun*<*Withington*, *Hole(g)nworth*<*Hollingworth*, and the form *Hasellenhirste*, Ch. ii. Ser. xix., L. P. R., p. 422. The adj. *hæslen* is found in O. E.

Hassock

1249. Haskestoc : L. Inq., p. 172.

[N.B.—*Haskescoc* alias *Hayescoc* in Cal. Inq. of Hen. III., p. 37, No. 153. I suspect that the editor has misread *scoc* for *stoc* here.]

'*Haskel's*, or *Hoskuld's* landmark.' O. E. *stoc*, 'stock, trunk, log,' is common in early forms of pl. ns. B. T. suggests that it means a fenced, or *staked*-in place. This may certainly be so, but may it not also mean simply a stock set up as a landmark or boundary ? Skeat takes *Leverstock* to mean probably 'Leofhere's log-hut,' but says the meaning of the suffix is uncertain (Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 70). The first element in *Hassock* may be the O. N. pers. n. *Hoskuldr*, on which see Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 140). Cp. the form *Haskesmores* from Testa de Nevil, 372, cited tentatively under *Hoskinshire* below. It should be noted that a pers. n. *Hascwulf*, *Hascolfus* is mentioned by Searle from Ellis, Introd. D. B. has several pl. ns. beginning with *Haske-*, *Haschetorp*, E. R. Yorks., D. B., 332*b* ; *Hascetuna* (Suff.), D. B., 315*b*, but these spellings may represent O. N. *Askil-*. Cp. in Yorks. *Haisthorpe*, of which D. B. has the forms *Aschellorp*, and *Haschetorp*. See Index of K.'s Inq.

? Hasty Gill (Ulv.)

1368. Hastigale : Furn. Ch., 430.

Hatlex (Hest Bank, Lancaster)

13th c. { Hakkelak : / Hakelakes : / Hakelake : } Lanc. Ch., pp. 204, 231, 233.

1346. Hakelaker, T. de : Wap. Sur. 3. 80.

1528. Haclaks : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 29.

1550. Hacklack : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 36.

'*Hackel's oaks*'? The first element looks like some Norse pers. n. like **Hæðkel*, or **Hākell*, the second is probably O. E. *āc*, 'oak' (q. v. Pt. II.). Shortening would normally take place, of the vowel in an unstressed position. The 1346 form has expanded the name to the 'acre' of the afore-mentioned person.

Note *Hachelintone* (Northants.), D. B., 220*b*, 2. The change of *-kl-* to *-tl-* occurs in *Astley* from **Ask(e)llei* and *Artle Beck* for **Arkle Beck*.

The spelling with final *-x* must be quite modern, and is rather disconcerting, until we see the early forms. For a name with a similar termination and spelling, cp. *Ruxox* in Beds., which Professor Skeat explains as 'Rook's oaks' on the strength of the forms *Rokesac*, *Rokeshoc* from Annal. Monast.

Haughton (near Ashton-under-Lyne)

13th c. Halghton: Whall. Ch., passim, e.g. p. 59.
1311. Haughton: De Lac. Inq., 16.

The *tūn* at or near the '*halh*' (q. v. in Pt. II.). The form of 1311, from which mod. spelling, and form too (if really pronounced hɔ̄tn), shows a quite normal diphthonging of *a* before *l*, which was then lost. Cp. §§ 7 (4) and 19 (6) above.

Haughton, Houghton

1194. Hauton in Lindsay: L. F., i. p. 2.
1253. Halughton (Par. Eccles.): L. F., i. p. 151.
1303. Halgton: } L. F., i. p. 211.
1307. Halghton: }

The first element is evidently *halh* (q. v.), and the second *tūn*, which see also in Pt. II.

Haverigg Holme (Coniston)

1332. Haueryngg: Whall. Ch., T. v. xxix. p. 225.
Ed. III. Haverrigge: Furn. Ch., p. 320.

A 'ridge (of land) sown with oats.' See *Hafr*, and *hryggr* in Pt. II.

***Haversegge**

1283. Hauersege: } L. Inq., p. 260.
Hauessege: }

More probably the 'sedgy land belonging to *Hāvarðr*' (see next name), than 'sedgy land in which oats are grown.' Cp. preceding name, and *hafr* in Pt. II. See also *secġ*. On the other hand the second element may be *eċġ*, 'hill,' or 'ridge,' the *s* being the gen. suffix. Cp. *Liversedge* in Yorks.=**Leofheres eċġ*, on which see my remarks under *Liverpool* below.

Haverthwaite

1337. Haverthwait : Furn. Ch., p. 173.
1401. Haverthwait : Furn. Ch., p. 205.
1584. Harderthat, Will Rawlingson of :
1639. Hauthwat, E. Rawlingson of :
1641. Harderthwait, Mr. Rawlingson of : } Rich. Wills, p. 226.

The ' thwaite of *Hāvarðr*.' For this name, cp. Rygh (Gamle Pers. Ns., p. 119), who enumerates a considerable number of pl. ns. compounded with it, e.g. *Holstad*, earlier *Hafuardhstadom*; *Haavards-Rotnes*; *Haavaarslien*, earlier *Hafuordzlid*; *Havargaard*, etc. This derivation is certainly more probable than an identification of the first element with O. N. *hafr*. Cp. *Haverigg* ante. The forms of 1584 and 1641 may represent a slightly different form of the first element **Ha(v)arder*. Note the retention of the O. N. gen. suffix.

Hawkley (Makerfield)

1332. Haukeslegh : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 18.

' Hawk's field.' See succeeding names, and *lēah* in Pt. II.

Hawkshaw (Lanc., Bury)

1218-19. Hauekesheghe : L. A. R., p. 259.
1276-83. } Haukeschagh : { Whall. Ch., T. iii. } p. 101.
1288. } { } p. 112.
1287. Haukeshag : Whall. Ch., T. iii. p. 125.
1285. Haukeseye : L. A. R., p. 206.

' Hawk wood.' See O. E. *hafoc*, and *sċeaga* in Pt. II. Of course it is quite possible that the first element is a pers. n. *Haukr* was a common man's name in Norway and Iceland, and appears in pl. n. in the forms, *Hok-*, *Hauk-*, *Hog-*, *Hauk-* (cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. Ns., p. 118.) The first of the early forms of the Lancs. name above is certainly English—M. E. *hauek*, *havek*= O. E. *hafoc*. The other might equally well be Norse or English. O. E. *hafoc* occurs unmistakably as a pers. n. in a pl. n. *Hafoces. hlǣw* (C. D., iv. p. 93). The early forms above show confusion, in the second element between O. E. *sceaga*, ' wood,' and *hæġe* and *haga*, ' enclosure.' Cp. now Björkman's remarks under O. N. *Hauk*, Nord. Pers. N. in England, p. 66. The form cited above from C. D. disposes, I think, of B.'s statement that O. E. *Hafoc* is never used as a pers. n. The 1218 form of *Hawkshaw* shows that we have the English and not the Norse name. The other forms are ambiguous.

Hawkshead

1198-1200. Hookesete, de : Ch. IV. xii., L. P. R., p. 362.
1208. Howkeset : Furn. Ch., p. 438.
1337. Haukeshed : Furn. Ch., p. 173.
1407. Haukeshevede : Furn. Ch., p. 205.

The probabilities are all in favour of the first element here being a pers. n., even more so than in the preceding word (q. v.). The second element was evidently *sǣte*, 'seat' (q. v. Pt. II.), originally. For interchange of O. E. *sǣte* and *hēāfod*, 'head,' in the unstressed element of pl. n., cp. *Cadishead* above. The substitution took place early in this name, and points to the fact that initial *h* in unstressed syllables was not pronounced in the fourteenth century.

Hawkswell (Ulv.)

13th c. Hokeswelle : Lanc. Ch., 182.
Haukeswelle : Lanc. Ch., 245.

'The well or spring, of *Haukr*' (O. N.), or *Hafoc* (O. E.). The first element certainly a pers. n. See the two preceding names. For second element, see *well* in Pt. II.

Haydock [hædək]

1168-69. Hedoc : L. P. R., 15, p. 12.
1170-71. Heddoch : L. P. R., 17, p. 20.
1286. } Haydok : L. F., i. p. 164.
1383. } L. F., iii. p. 15.
1565. Heghdyk : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 31.

The last form looks like a popular etymology, suggesting 'high dike.' In reality the second element was, perhaps, the word 'oak,' O. E. *āc*, M. E. *ōk*, though this usually appears as *-ak* in M. E. in unstressed syllables. I cannot suggest a reasonable explanation of the first elements. It is probably a pers. n.

Heald (near Garstang)

1332. Held, Wil. del : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 11.

Probably 'the slope.' B. T. quotes *Oð ðæs clifes norþhyldan* from C. D., iii. p. 418. The O. E. verb *hyldan* means 'to incline,' and *heald*, 'bent, inclined.' We may take the C. D. *hylde* to be a W. S. form from **haldi*, which would give *hielde*,

hylde in W. S., but *helde* in the non-W. S. dialects. Jellinghaus (Westfäl On., p. 43) has the form *halde*, and Dutch *helde* in the sense of ' height, mound,' and further ' valley, depth.' etc. He does not seem to mention O. E. *hylde* either here or in Anglia, xx. Heilig. (Ortsn. d. Grshrzgtms., Baden, p. 27) has *halde* ' Berg-abhang,' and mentions *Bruderhalden, Kirnhalden, Nordhalden* as pl. ns. in which it occurs.

Healey (in Rochdale) [jeli wad, J. H. H.]

1217-18. Heley, P. de : P. R., Hen. III., L. A. R., p. 255.
1221-22. Heleg, P. de : P. R., Hen. III., L. A. R., p. 661.
1260. Hayleg : L. F., i. p. 133.
1292. Heleye : Plac. Q. Warr., 378.
?1327. Heleychalewes : Whall. Ch., T. v. xlii. p. 260 (=St. Helens).
1346. Haylegh : Wap. Sur., 3. 66.

The early forms beginning *hey-*, *hay-* suggest that the first element is O. E. *hæġe*, ' enclosure ' (q. v. Pt. II.), in which case the name would mean ' enclosed field.' But this does not square satisfactorily either with the majority of thirteenth century forms, or with the Mod. form.

Heap Bridge (on the Roch, near Bury)

1199. Hepedale : Cal. Roll. Ch., p. 6.

Searle mentions a pers. n. *Heppo*, which occurs in D. B. and in ' Piper.' It seems also to occur in the pl. ns. *Hepworda* (Suff.), D. B. 365*b* ; *Heppastebe* (sic Dev.), D. B., 114*b*.

Heapey

1218-19. P. de Hepeie : P. R. Hen. III., L. A. R., p. 258.
1292. Hepay : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1300. Heppay : L. F., i. p. 191.
Hepay : L. F., i. pp. 190-1.

Is the first element the same pers. n. as in the preceding name ? The second element may be either O. E. *hæġe*, ' enclosure,' or O. E. *ēā*, ' water,' or ' meadow.'

Heath Chernock

1282. Hetchernock : Chorley Doc., p. 225.
1288. Hetcheroke : L. Inq., p. 270.
1292. Hethchernoc : Hethe-chernoc : L. F., i. p. 176.
1356. Hethchernok : L. F., ii. p. 148.

See *Hæþ* in Pt. II. and *Charnock* above.

Heaton [hīətn, hēətn.] Lanc.

1086. Hietune : D. B., 301*b*.
1196. Hetton (Heaton Norris).
1235. Little Heton (Prestwick) : L. F., i. p. 66.
1286. Heton : L. F., i. p. 160.
1327. Heton Norrays : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 104.

Henthorn

1258. Hennethyrn : Inq. Hen. III., No. 418, p. 116.
1276. Hennethyrne : L. A. R., p. 140.
1296. Henthorn : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi. p. 105.
1311. {Henethirn : / Hannethirn :} De Lac. Inq., 17.
1332. Henthern : A. de Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 86.

Perhaps 'the thorn-(tree) of *Heiðinn*.' This was a name of frequent occurrence in Norway. It appears as *Hen* in Norse pl. n.—*Hensrud, Henstad*, earlier *Heidinstadhom*, also as *Heden-, Hes-* etc. Cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., pp. 120-22. For second element, see *þorn, þyrne* in Pt. II. The earliest examples have a mutated form of the second element, O. E. *þyrne*, 'thorn tree.' A simpler, and perhaps more probable origin for the first element, is O. E. *henn*, 'hen,' which occurs in several English pl. ns. See this word in Pt. II.

Hesketh

1283-92. / 1323. Heskayth : {Whal. Ch., T. III. xlix. p. 117. / L. F., ii. p. 49.}
1292. Eskeyth : Plac. Q. Warr., 387*b*.
1303. Heskayth : Scar. Ch., 47, 275.
1311. Haskayth : De Lac. Inq., 15.
1332. Heskeith : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 42.
1332. Heskaith : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 42.
1346. Heskeith, H. de : Feudal Aids, iii. p. 88.

'Race course,' from O. N. *Hestskeiþ*. See *Hest* in Pt. II. The change from the O. N. word to the early forms above involves no more than the dropping of *t* between two *s*— *Hestskeiþ*, **Hes(t)skeiþ*, **He(s)skeiþ*. The element *skeiþ* appears to have been used in several Scandinavian local names—e.g. *Ulski*, probably the same name as the earlier *Ulfaskeiði*, *Ulfvesked* (Rygh, Norske Gaardn., ii. p. 21), *Duski*, earlier *Dynjandaskeið* (ibid., p. 141). See also Rygh's remark (N. G., iii. p. 75), on the meaning of the element in pl. ns. He says it is uncertain, but

may have been given to places which were actually used for races, or which were merely suitable for such.

Heskin

1332.} Heskyn : {Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 43.
1334.} {Pr. Pen., 15.

Hest Bank

1176-77. Hest : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
13th c. Este : Lanc. Ch., 178 (generally with H.).
1279.} Hest : {Orig. Rlls., 33*b*.
1346.} {Wap. Lons., 62.

The O. N. name *Heiðin* (cp. under *Henthorn* above) was often written *Hest-* in composition. Cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 120. This is recorded for what it is worth—not very much. O. N. *Hest* meant 'horse.' Dr. Hirst says 'Hest Bank is the place from which travellers crossed Morecambe sands, on horseback, to the opposite bank of the *Kent*.'

Hestham (Morecambe)

1346. Hestham : Wap. Sur.[3], p. 72.

Is the first element the contracted form of the O. N. pers. n. *Heiðinn* mentioned under *Henthorn*, and *Hest* above ?

Hey

1162-82. de Haya : Whall. Ch., T. III. vii. p. 78.

'The fenced-in, enclosed place.' See O. E. *hæġe* in Pt. II. The form from the Whall. Ch. looks like a fanciful attempt to disguise a familiar English word, and to give it a foreign appearance. This Chartulary is not very convincing in its forms as a rule.

Heysham [hīsəm]

1086. Hessam : D. B., 301*b*.
1094. Heseym : Ch. I. ii., L. P. R., p. 290.
1216-22. Hesam :} L. Inq., p. 122.
1222-26. Hescam :}
1332. Hesham : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 99.
1382. Hesham : L. F., iii. p. 15.
1463. Hesame : L. F., iii. p. 131.

The modern spelling is late, and *ham* is evidently not the original suffix. The word is perhaps an old dat. pl.—of what I cannot say.

Heywood [*jaiəd*]

1311. Heywood : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxxxiii. p.

The 'wood by the hey,' or the 'enclosed wood.' See *Hey* above, and O. E. *hæġe* and *wudu* in Pt. II.

Hillam (Lanc.)

1086. Hillun : D. B., 301*b*.

'In the hills'? An old dat. pl. of O. E. *hyll* (q. v. Pt. II.).

Hindley

1292. Hyndeleye : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1300. Hindelegh : L. F., i. p. 194.
1320-46. Hyndeleghe : Wap. Sur.[1], 36.

'Doe field.' O. E. *Hind* occurs in several pl. ns., *Hindeleia* (W. R. Yorks.), D. B., 316*b*; *Hindeford* (Dev.), D. B., 109; *ætHyndehlȳpan*, C. D., iii. p. 421 (944).

Hoghton

1241. Hocton : L. F., i. p. 84.
1311. Hoktun : De Lac. Inq., 22.
1334. Hougton : Pr. Pen., 19.
1335. Hoghton : Ibid., 20.
1346. Hoghtona : Furn. Ch., 398.
1320-46. Hoghton, Adam de : Wap. Sur.[2], 57.
1320-46. Houghton : Ibid., 54.

The first two forms can scarcely leave any doubt that this name means the *tūn* of *Hōc*. This was an O. E. pers. n., and appears also in pl. ns. in O. E. charters—*e.g. Hōketūn* (written *-ton*), C. D., ii. p. 417 (this Charter is dated 966, but is obviously much later in the form here given); *Hōchyll* (Brks.), C. D., iv. p. 124 (1050); *Hōcslēw* (=*Hōceshlǣw*), C. D., iv. p. 92, etc. For the change of M. E. *k*, to *-gh-*, before *-t*, cp. *Broughton* above, and remarks and references there given.

Holden

1339. Holden : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxi., p. 292.

O. E. *holh denu*, 'hollow valley'? See both elements in Pt. II.

Holebiggerah

1332. Holbigwra : Furn. Ch., 497.

The suffix is evidently O. N. *vrā*, 'corner, nook,' Mod. Eng. *wray* (q. v. in Pt. II.). *Hole-* is probably O. E. *holh*, 'hollow'

and *big* is either connected with O. N. *bygging*, etc., 'habitation,' or is O. N. *byg*, 'barley.' Thus the name means either 'hollow barley-wray,' or 'hollow house-wray.'

Holker

1321. Holker : L. F., ii. p. 43.

O. E. *holh*, 'hollow,' and O. N. *kjarr*, 'swamp,' etc. See these words in Pt. II.

Holland or **Downholland**

1193. Hoiland, de : L. P. R., 4c, p. 78.
1202. Hollande : L. F., i. p. 14.
1224. Holand : F. L., i. p. 47.
1283. Haland, R. de : Plac. Abbrev., p. 274.
1292. Holaund : L. F., i. p. 173.
13th c. Hoyland : Lanc. Ch., 279.
1325. Dounholand : L. F., ii. p. 71.

Harrison says (L'pool District Pl. Ns.) that 'a ninth century document was discovered, in which the spelling *holtland* occurred.' It is a pity that he does not tell when the document was discovered, where it is, and what place is referred to. Statements of this kind are worthless. It is conceivable that H.'s suggestion that *Holland* is from *Holtland* is correct, but all the evidence afforded by the above forms is rather against this view, or quite unconfirmatory of it. Until I have seen that ninth century document, I am inclined to assume *holh* as the first element. See this word in Pt. II., and the preceding names.

Holleth (Lancaster)

1520. Holloth : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 25.
1586. Holoweth : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 51.

The first element is probably O. E. *holh* again. The second is very doubtful in the absence of really old forms. It may be either O. N. *viðr*, 'wood,' or O. N. *vað*, 'ford' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Hollingworth

1278. Holyenworth : L. F., i. p. 155.

The '*worth* of the holly trees.' See O. E. *holegn*, and *wurþ* in Pt. II.

***Hollinhey Clough** (near Burnley? known in 1603?)

1535. Ye hollyn heugh : Townl. Rll., p. 7.

'Holly hill.' Cp. preceding name, and *hōh*, 'hill,' in Pt. II. *Ye* is an Early Mod. spelling for M. E. *þe*.

Hollowforth (Bilsb.)

1332. Holughford : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 57.

'Hollow ford.' See *holh* and *ford* in Pt. II.

Holme, Hulme

1199. Ea-land called Holm : L. F., i. p. 9.

See *Holm* in Pt. II.

Hoole

1204. Hulle : / Hull : } L. F., i. p. 23. (Much Hoole.)
1223. Holes : L. F., i. p. 44. (Much Hoole.)
1260. Much Hole : L. F., i. p. 132.
1292. Hole : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1320. Great Hoole : L. F., ii. p. 33.
1256. Little Hol : L. F., i. p. 124.

O. N. *hōll* a form of *hvāll*, 'a hill.'

Hopwood

1283. Hopwood : Whall. Ch., T. IV. xviii. p. 151.
1292. Hoppewode : L. F., i. p. 171.
1332. Hopwode : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 36.

'The wood in the valley.' See O. E. *hop* in Pt. II., also *wudu*.

Hornby [hōnbi]

1227. / 1292. Horneby : L. F., i. p. 51. / Plac. Q. Warr., 377 and 380*b*.
1316. Horneby : Orig. Rlls., 294*b*.
1346. Hornebye : Wap. Sur., 3.

The O. N. *horn* has the meaning of 'nook, corner' of land, also the 'outskirts of a country,' and O. E. *horn* has pretty much the same meaning, and also implies 'tongue of land'; but the above name is much more probably the '*bȳ* of *Horn*' than the '*bȳ* in a corner.' The personal name is not mentioned by Rygh, nor any pl. n. compounded with it, but Cleasby-Vigf. mention several O. N. pl. ns. with *Horn*—from Landnama bōk.

Horwich

1254. Horewiche : L. Inq., p. 193.
1332. Heton in Horewich : L. F., ii. p. 89.
1332. Horwiche : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 54.

O. E. *horu* means 'dirt, filth.' There is a *Horham* in Suffolk which is mentioned in Bp. Theodred's Will, Thorpe's Diplomat.

p. 513. There is also a *horpytt*, 'dirty pit,' cited by B.-T. from C. D., iii. p. 37. If the above name contains this element, it must have been 'dirty place.' Cp. *wic* in Pt. II.

Hoscar Moss Wood (Ormsk)

1332. Horskar, Joh. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 5.

'Horse swamp.' Cp. O. E. *hors*, and O. N. *kjarr*, Pt. II. The first element may, of course, be a pers. n.

Hoskinshire (Garstang)

Cp. *Haskesmores*, T. de N., 372, and remarks on first element of Hassock above.

Hothersall

1200-1201. Hudereshal : L. P. R., 47, p. 127.
1205-06. Huddeshal : L. P. R., p. 205.
1257. Hudereshale : L. Inq., p. 204.
1313. Hodirsale : L. F., ii. p. 14.
1320-46. Hordreshale : Wap. Sur., 2. 58.
1352. Hodersale : L. F., ii. p. 132.

The pers. n. **Hūþhere* is not recorded, but it is difficult to see what else the first element in this name can be. The second element is evidently *halh* (q. v. Pt. II.). The *o* is a M. E. spelling for *u*, see § 2, p. 20, above. Cp. for the first element, also Yorks. *Huddersfield*, D. B. *Oderesfelt*. See Index Locorum, I. of K.'s Inq.

Howcroft Barn (Burnley)

1332. Holecroft, Adam de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 4.

'Hollow farm,' that is the 'farm in a hollow'? The first element is apparently *holh*, 'hollow.' See this word in Pt. II. and other instances of its appearance as *How-* in Mod. names. O. E. *croft* is a farm. See this also, Pt. II.

Howgreave (Clith)

Perhaps = *hole grāf*. Cp. *Howcroft* above and *grāf* in Pt. II.

Howick

Type I.

1096-1122. Hokewike : Ch. I., v., L. P. R., p. 318.
1149. Hocwica, de : Ch. II. v., L. P. R., p. 319.
1202., 1210. Hocwic : L. F., i. p. 16. ; L. F., i. pp. 36 and 37.
1256. Hocwyk : L. F., i. p. 120.

1322. Hogwike : Cal. Inq. A. q. D., p. 271.
1323. Hougwyk : Pr. Pen., 53.
1292. 1329. 1373. 1431. Hoghwyk : Whall. Ch., T. III. l. p. 1 18. L. F., ii. p. 74. L. F., ii. p. 185. L. F., iii. p. 126.
1506. Houghwik : L. F., iii. p. 159. Hogwik : L. F., iii. p. 161.
Houghwyke : Pr. Pen. 67.

Type II.

1335. Howyk : Pr. Pen., 20.

This is clearly the ' wick of *Hōc*.' See this name under *Hoghton* above. The *k* was apparently lost before the *-w*, producing the form in Type II. The spellings with *Hough-* may be due to the fact that while the *-k* had been lost the first element was indistinguishable in pronunciation from one of the forms of *hōh* (q. v. in Pt. II.). It was then identified by the scribes and others with this element, and *Hogh*, *Hough*, etc., were written. Or it is possible that scribes who knew the forms *Hōktun*, *Hoghtun*, thought that a name formerly written *Hōkwik*, should later be written *Hoghwik*, etc.

***Hudds Bank**

1332. Huddesbank, Joh. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 88. Cp. *Huddslee*, Ribchester.

The pers. n. *Hud* is recorded by Searle as occurring in the local *Huddesig*, C. D., 77, 234 ; *Hudshope Burn* is found in Co. Durh., and *Hudswell* in Yorks. This last, however, is *Hudreswell* in D. B., but *Hoddeswell*, *Huddeswell* in K.'s Inq. See Index Locorum, I. The D. B. form looks more as if the first element were **Hūþhere*, cp. *Hothersall* above.

Hulme

1190. 1202-03. 1310. Hulm : Whall. Ch., T. II. xviii. p. 49. L. P. R., p. 160. L. F., ii. p. 3.
1320-46. Hulme : Wap. Sur.[1], 1, 36.
1412. 1506. Hulme : Furn. Ch., 367. L. F., iii. p. 162.

Cp. *Holme* above, and *Hōlmr* in Pt. II. The two forms *Holme* and *Hulme* (hūm) must be explained as derived respectively from M. E. Nom. with shortening, and are oblique case without

shortening. The latter would normally become (hūm), and the Mod. pronunciation is probably due to the spelling. The spelling with *u* as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, I must confess is a puzzle, if the above explanation is correct. *u* for O. E. *ō* is common in the fourteenth century in Nthn. texts, where it represents an entirely different sound from (*ū*), but it is unknown, I believe, in Midland forms. This fact renders the assumed connection between *Holme* and *Hulme* very doubtful.

Hulton

1199-1200. } Hilton : { L. P. R., p. 112.
1200-01. } { L. P. R., pp. 126 (3), 128.
1201-02. } { L. P. R., p. 147, and passim down to 1215.

1235. Hylton : L. F., i. pp. 121-22, and passim.
1311. Hulton : L. F., ii. p. 11, and passim during fourteenth century.
1480. Hulton : L. F., iii. p. 139.
1501. Hulton : L. F., iii. p. 150.

'Hill town'?

The *Hilton* form occurs (as proper name) 1384, L. F., iii. p. 21 ; 1439, L. F., iii. p. 105, etc. This form is confined to persons after beginning of fourteenth century. Whall. Ch. has *Hulton* in thirteenth century, cp. pp. 42, 60, 89.

Cp. *hyll* and *tūn* in Pt. II.

Huncoat

1241. Hunecotes : L. F., i. p. 80.
1256. Hunnecotes : L. F., i. p. 129.
c. 1290. Hunecoat : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi., p. 206.
1311. { Huncotes : } De Lac. Inq., 14.
{ Honcotes : } Cal. Cl. Rlls., 315.
{ Hunkot : } Feod. Mil., cit Baines, iv. p. 758.
1390. Huncote : L. F., iii. p. 36.

'The abode of Hun.' Both *Hun* and *Hunna* are recorded as O. E. pers. ns. by Searle. For second element, cp. O. E. *cot*, Pt. II. *Hunesdune* is found C. D., v. p. 322 (948) ; *Honesworde* (Staffs.) occurs D. B., 250, and *Hunesworde* (Oxon.) D. B., 157*b*.

Hundersfield

1202. Hunnordesfeld : L. F., i. p. 17.
1235. Hunewrthefeld : L. F., i. p. 69.
1246-47. { Hunneswurthefeld : } L. A. R., p. 30.
{ Honeworthesfeld : }

13th c. Hunresfeld : Whall. Ch., T. IV. p. 160.
1311. Hundresfeld : De Lac. Inq., 20.
1327. Hounersfeld : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 105.
1388. Honeresfeld : L. F., iii. p. 31.

It looks as if this name were a contracted form of *Hunworthesfeld*. *Hunresfeld* is an intermediate form to *Hundresfeld*. For *-nr-* becoming *-ndr-*, cp. *Dendron* from *Denrum*.

Huntingdon Hall (Rochester)

1332. Huntingden, Thos. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 84.

The form stands for O. E. *Huntandenu*, 'hunter's dene,' or possibly for *Huntena denu*, 'hunters' dene.'

Hurleton

1292. Hurlton : Plac. Q. War., 379.
c. 1300. { Hurleton : / Hurlton : } Scar. Ch., 4, 260.
1320-40. Hurdelton : Wap. Sur., 1. 42.
1597-98. Hurdleton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 68.

Hurst

1194-1211. Hurst : Whall. Ch., T. I. xix. p.

'The wood.' Cp. O. E. *hyrst* in Pt. II.

Hurst Brook

1329. Hurstebrok : Whall. Ch., T. v. xlii. p. 254.

'The brook in or near the wood.' See both elements, Pt. II.

Hurstwood

1370. Hirstwode : L. F., ii. p. 178.

See O. E. *hyrst* and *wudu* in Pt. II.

***Husted**

13th. c. { Husted : Lanc. Ch., 204. / Houstedes : Lanc. Ch., 212. / Houstydes : Lanc. Ch., 218. }

O. E. *hūs-stede*, 'site of a building.' O. N. *hūsa-staðr* is defined by Cleasby-Vigf. as 'a housestead, the site of a building.'

Hutton (Penwortham)

1180.
1219.
1246. Hoton :
1266.
1292.
Scar. Ch., i. p. 259.
L. F., i. p. 41.
L. F., i. p. 105.
Whall. Ch., T. I. xxxi. p.
Plac. Q. Warr., 373*b*.

1564. Hotton : Pr. Pen., 128.

The first element may be O. E. *hōh*, 'hill.' Farrer has an interesting note on *Hutton Roof* (Kirkby Lonsdale), L. F., i. p. 19. He says, though he gives no reference, that *Roof* here was earlier *Rolf*. This is a shortened form of O. E. pers. n. *Hroðulf*, q. v. under Roddlesworth below.

Huyton

1202. Hiton : L. F., i. p. 21.
1321. Huyton : L. F., ii. p. 41.

Neither of the above spellings can represent O. E. *hēāh*, 'high,' as suggested by Harrison (L'pool District Pl. Ns.). Mr. Sephton's explanation in Otia Merseiana, vol. iv., that it represents O. E. *hwīt* appears to me to be quite impossible. It might pass muster for the second spelling, but will not do for the spelling *Hi-*, which occurs also in D. B.

I

Idridge (Scarisbrick)

First element probably pers. n. *Id-* or *Id.* Cp. *hryėġ*, Pt. II., for second element. Cp. Idbury, Oxon.

Ightenhill

1241. Ightenhill : L. Inq., 2, p. 156.
1251. Ightenhull : Whall. Ch., T. iii. p. 77.
1278. Ictenhulle : Duc. Lanc. Anc. Dds. in H. P. Meols, p. 13.
1305. Ichtenhil : De Lac. Comp., p. 1.
1305. Ichtenhille : De Lac. Comp., p. 114.
1311. Ightenhill : De Lac. Inq., 10.

Does *Ighten-* represent O. E. *igtūn-* ? Cp. *Igtūne*, C. D., v. p. 74 in a Charter dated 825. This compound means the *tūn* on the islet ?

Ince Blundell

1300. Ynes, R. de : Scar. Ch., 41, 273.
1301. Inis (near Crosseby) : L. F., i. p. 195.

1318. } Ins : { L. F., ii. p. 31.
1320-42. } { Wap. Sur., 36.
1367. Ines Blundell : L. F., ii. p. 155.
1379. Inesblundell : L. F., iii. p. 6.
1479. Insse : L. F., iii. p. 137.

Inglebreck (Bolton)

1236-56. Ingelbrek : Lanc. Ch., 195.
Ingelbrecdale : Lanc. Ch., p. 180.

For the first element, see *Ingol* below. The second is the O. N. *brekka*, ' slope,' etc. See this element in Pt. II.

Inglehead (Broughton)

1332. Ingolhed : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 67.
1459. Ingolhed, R. Singleton de : Preston G. Rlls., p. 11.
1658. Ingolhead : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 107.
1606. Ingollhead, Henry Beesley of : Rich. Wills, p. 27.

Inglewhite

1675. Ingewhite, Ellen Wilson of : Rich Wills, p. 316.

Undoubtedly ' Ingulf's thwaite.' See Ingulf above, and *þveit* in Pt. II. There is no difficulty about the identification of *-white* with *-thwaite*. Cp. *Hebblethwaite* and *Hebblewhite*, *Applethwaite*, and *Applewhite*, which are now all family names, originally pl. ns. in *-thwaite*. On this point, cp. Bardsley's Engl. and Welsh Surnames, under *Hebblethwaite*. Cp. also forms of *-thwaite*, under *Allithwaite* above.

Inglewood (Blackburn)

Ingelwode, R. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 10.

Ingmire

1236-56. Engemyre : Lanc. Ch., 180.
13th c. { Engemyr : } Lanc. Ch., pp. 177, 237.
{ Yngemyre : }

' The swamp in the ing, or meadow.' The spelling *eng-* represents the Scand. form of the word. Cp. *Ing*, and *mȳre* in Pt. II.

Ingol (Preston)

1199-1206. { Igole, G. de : Ch. II. vii., L. P. R., p. 334.
{ Ingool, W. de : Seal of same Charter, p. 335.
1327-77. Ingoldmelles : Wh. Ch., i. 88, S. D. Lincs, 7 Ed. III.
1390. Ingols : Wh. Ch., i. 57.
Ingoll : Wh. Ch., i.

Ingulfr is a common pers. n. in O. N. Rygh (Gamle Pers. N.,

pp. 144-45) mentions a considerable number of Norwegian pl. ns. containing this element—e.g. *Ingulstad, Ingelsrud, Ingulsland, Ingulsfjord,* etc. The occurrence of a pl. n. consisting of a pers. n. simple and uncompounded is difficult to understand. The above early forms throw no light. The name must have been used possessively, meaning the 'land of *Ingulfr,*' or something of the kind. See *Inglebreck* and *Inglehead* above. The 1327 form suggests *Ingvald* as the first element.

Cp. Thos. de Ingoldestorp, etc., Inq. Hen. III. No. 23, and Ingaldestorp, ibid.

Inskip

1086. Inscip : D. B., 301*b*.
1246. Inskyp : L. F., i. p. 99.
1272. Inscyp : Cal. Anc. Dds., ii. No. c., 1912, p. 462.
1285. Insckyp : L. F., i. p. 164.
1292. Inskip : Plac. Q. War., 375*b*.

Ireby

1086. Irebi : D. B., 301*b*.
1241. Ireby : L. F., i. p. 91.
1292. Hyrby : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1346. Irebye : Wap. Sur., 62.

'The *bȳ* of Yrr' ? Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 285) mentions *Ȳrr* 'an old female name, which can only be shown to exist in Iceland in the period of colonisation.' He mentions only one pl. n.—*Yrstad* as derived from it. It looks as if we have this name in *Ireby, Ireleth, Irlam,* and *Irwell* (q. v.).

Ireleth (Dalton)

1086. Gerleuuorde : D. B.
1247.) Irlid : Furn. Ch., 604.
1290.) Furn. Ch., 661.
1292. Irelith : Furn. Ch., 634.
1401. Irlythe : Furn. Ch., 205.
1619. Ayreleth, Kirkby, Hery Atkinson of : Rich Wills, p. 10.

'The *hliþ* or slope of Ȳrr.' See preceding name, and O. E. *hliþ* in Pt. II. The D. B. form does not square with the others.

Irlam

1184-90. Urwilham : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 719.
1325. Irulham : L. C. R., p. 160.

1332. Irwelham, A. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 41.
1448. Irwilham : L. F., iii. p. 114.

The early forms make it pretty certain that this name is *Ȳrwyllanhām*, that is the '*hām*' or homestead by the *Irwell*. See next name. It is of course impossible to say whether the *-ham* here is really O. E. *hām* (q. v. in Pt. II.) or O. E. *hamm* (q. v. Pt. II.).

Irwell

Late 12th c. Irewel : Whall. Ch., T. iv. p. 154.

The 'well, or spring of *Ȳr*.' See this pers. n. under *Ireby* ante and O. E. *wella*, etc. in Pt. II.

K

Kearsley

1186-87. de Cherselawe : L. P. R., 33, p. 64, and 34 do., p. 68.

The second element, as appears from the above early forms was originally O. E. *hlāw*, 'mound,' etc. The first element is evidently a pers. n., but I am unable to trace it.

Kelbrick (Garstang)

13th c. { Keldebrek : } Lanc. Ch., 228.
{ Kelbrick : } Lanc. Ch., 232, 269.

1332. Kelbrok : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 85.

O. N. *Kelda*, 'spring,' and O. N. *brekka*, 'slope,' 'hill'—the hill of the spring.' Cp. *Kellet* below.

Kellamergh

TYPE I.

(1) 1189-94. N.B.—Kilgrimol : Ch. I. x., L. P. R., p. 346.
(2) 13th c. Kelgrimesargh : Lanc. Ch., 331.
(3) 1200-01. Kelfgrimeshereg[h] : L. P. R., 47, p. 132.
(4) 1236. Kelgrimisarhe : Close R. 20 Hen. III., L. Inq., p. 144.
(5) 1246-47. Kergrimesarh : L. A. R. (Rll. 404), i. p. 40.
(6) 1249. Kelsimshargt : L. Inq., p. 171.
(7) 1254. { Kelgrimisarth : } L. Inq., p. 194.
{ Kilgrimeshar[gh] : }
1301. Kelgrimesargh L. F., i. p. 194.
1336. Kelgrymesargh : L. F., ii. p. 101.
1320-46. Kilgrymesargh : Wap. Sur. 2. 46.
1682. Kellamer, W. Crooke de : Preston G. Rlls., p. 185.

TYPE II.

(10) 1246-47. Kelgrimesarewe : L. A. R. (Rll. 404), i. pp. 39, 52.

'The *hærg* or temple, of, or built by (?) *Kelfgrim*. No. 3 is clearly the most primitive form. What are we to make of the name *Kelfgrim*? There are a considerable number of pl. ns. in Norway, which begin with the pers. n. *Kjöl-* (Rygh, Gamle Pers. Ns., pp. 248, 249), which Rygh derives from an original *þjōðolfr*, which, he says, is a widespread man's name. See also Rygh's remarks in Norske Gaardn., i. p. 269. The change from *þj-* to *kj* is a matter for Norse phonologists to settle, but any phonetician with a knowledge of the pronunciation of the living Scandinavian languages, especially Swedish, can imagine how it might come about. If Rygh is right, then *Kjöl-* in *Kjölstad*, *Kjösvik*, *Kjölsrud*, etc., stands for **Kjölf-* from *ðjölf-* etc. The name *þiodolfsass* is found in a document of 1308. According to this, *Kelfgrim* would stand for an earlier *þjōdolfgrim*, an unusual, and perhaps a late form of compound pers. n. We may suppose that *þjōdolf-* had already become *Kjölf-* before the further suffix *grim* (a very common Norse man's name) was added, and that *Kjölfgrim* arose, as a name, in England itself. This is the form represented by *Kelfgrim-* above. The loss of the *f* is a natural development, and so is the change of *ö* to *e*. Type I. is from the nom., Type II. from a locative, O. E. *hærge*. See the element *hærg*, *hearg* in Pt. II.

Kellet [kelt]

(1) 1086. Chellet : D. B., 301*b*.
(2) 1198-99. Kelled : L. P. R., 45, p. 107.
(3) 1206. Kellet : L. F., i. p. 25.
(4) 1212. Kelleth : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., pp. 91-2 (five times). Cp. Gerne*th*=Gerne*t*.
(5) 1227. Keldelith : Lanc. Ch., 150.
(6) 1228. Kellet : Whall. Ch., T. vi., Per. Lanc., p. 370.
(7) Kelleth : T. de N., 406*b*, 407.
(8) 1307. Oure Kellet (Over Kellet) : L. F., i. p. 211.

'The slope, or hill of the spring.' No. 5 is the only form which throws an unambiguous light on the first element, and seems to point conclusively to O. N. *Kelda*, 'spring' (q. v. in Pt. II.). The second element is clearest in No. 5, but the original *-th* is preserved also in Nos. 4 and 7. It is evidently O. N. *hlīþ*, 'slope,' etc., q. v. in Pt. II. The above list of forms is a good illustration

of the fact that the earliest documents, especially when they are the work of foreign scribes, are much less valuable for English pl. ns. than later ones, written by Englishmen. The former, indeed, are generally worthless for our purpose, unless the scribe strictly copies from an old source. Of course it is probable that by 1227, *Keldlith* had already become *Kellith*, but the writer of the Lanc. Ch. evidently had access to much earlier documents with proper spelling, and followed it. The final *t* in the Mod. form, if indeed it really exists in local pronunciation, is certainly due to copying unreliable M. E. documents, and continuing to pronounce according to the spelling of these.

Kenyon

Late 13th c. Kenyan : Whall. Ch., T. II. xxi. p. 51.
1310. Keynyan : L. F., ii. p. 6.
1320-46. Kenean : Wap. Sur., i. p. 36.

Kersall

1199. Kereshall : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 4.
1199-1200. Kershall : L. P. R., 46, p. 115.
1212. Kereshole; : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 72.

The first element probably a pers. n., but I cannot trace it. For the second element, see *halh* Pt. II.

Kidsnape (Ribch.)

Probably a ' boggy pasture land for kids.' Cp. *Snape* in Pt. II. O. N. *Kiðr*, Swed. *Kid*.

Kirby Irleth

1086. Gerleuuorde : D. B.
1175-76. Karkebi : L. P. R. 22, p. 31.
1227. { Kyrkeby Yrlith : L. F., i. p. 52.
{ Kirkeby : L. F., i. p. 50.
Ante 1253. Kirkeby in Irlid : Furn. Ch., p. 486.
1284. Kirkebirlith : L. F., i. p. 162.
1292. Kirkeby Irlyth : Furn. Ch., p. 310.
1327-77. Kirkeby Irelith : Furn. Ch., p. 132.

See preceding name, and *Irleth* above.

Kirkby (Liverpool)

1320-46. Kirkebye : Wap. Sur., 38.

' Church town.' See *Kirkja* (O. N.) and *bȳr* (ibid.) in Pt. II.

Kirkdale [kərtə]

1241. Kirkeham : L. F., i. p. 84.
1292. Kirkedale : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1320-46. Kyrkedale : Wap. Sur., 40.

'Church valley.' See *Kirkja* and *dæl* in Pt. II.

Kirkham

1086. Chicheham : D. B., 301*b*.
1093-94. Chercheham : Ch I. i., L. P. R., p. 270.
1120-22. Chercheam : Ch. II. i. p. 272.
1136-38. Chircheham : Ch. v. i. p. 275., L. P. R.
1138-41. Kirkeham : Ch. VI. i. p. 276.
1144-47. / 1155. Kircheham : Ch. IV. i. p. 280. / Ch. IV. i. p. 284.
1196. Kirkeheim : L. F., i. p. 2.
1249. Kyrkeham : Whall. Ch., T. v. lxx. p. 300.
1292. Kyrkham : Plac. Q. Warr., 383*b*.
1382. Kirkhame : Furn. Ch., 282. / Kyrkhame : Furn. Ch., 283. / Kirkeham : Furn. Ch., 284.

The above *ch-* spelling are probably Norman spellings for *k*, the first two certainly are. Note the spelling of second element in *Kirkeheim* above, which shows that the Norse form instead of Engl. *-hām* was in use in this name, and was probably the original form, as the first element in Norse and not English. It is, of course, quite possible that Norse speakers called the place *Kirkeheim*, and English speakers *Chirchehām*.

Knotshill

12th and 13th c. Cnouthull : Whall. Ch., T. IV. xvi. p. 149.

Some people have supposed the first element to be '*Canute*,' O. N. *Knūtr*. The Mod. form is rather against this, as we should expect **Knuthill* or **Nuttle* (natl) in that case. The writer of the above form apparently thought the name was *Knūt-*, and intended to express the *ū* by *ou* in the French way, but I place very little reliance on Whall. Ch. when unsupported by other documents. As it stands, the Mod. name might with propriety be derived from O. N. *Knottr*, on which pers. n., see Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 163). For second element see O. E. *hyll* in Pt. II.

Knowsley

1086. Chenulweslei : D. B.
1199. Knuvesle : L. F., i. p. 8.
1246-47. Knouwesley : L. A. R., p. 119.
1252. Knusley : L. F., i. p. 114.
1292. Knoulesley : / Cnouesleye : } Plac. Q. Warr., 379 and 387.
1311. Knowsley : De Lac. Inq., 23.
1325. / 1332. / 1355. } Knouselegh : { L. C. R., p. 82. / L. F., ii. p. 88. / L. F., ii. p. 146.
1500. Knollesley : L. F., iii. p. 150.

The above D. B. form for a wonder at once puts us on the right track regarding the origin of this name. The scribe must have copied from a good O. E. document. The name is O. E. *Cenulfes lāh*. A longer form of this pers. n. is *Cen(e)wulf*, or *Cynewulf*. The *ch-* in D. B. is the regular symbol for the *k*-sound. The modern ' polite ' pronunciation is clearly based on the spelling. *Know-* spells (nou) in Engl., hence the sound in this name. The normally developed pronunciation is (nauzli), still preserved in the district. The ordinary (nouzli) is an impossible development from M. E. (*knūwesli*). The M. E. forms show a shifting of accent (stress), from (kénulfeslei) to (k(e)núlveslei) whence (knú(l)veslei)<(knūweslei), etc. This *ū* is regularly expressed in M. E. by *ou*, *ow*, which survives in the Mod. spelling.

Knuzden Brook (Blackburn)

For first element, cp. Knowsley ; for second, cp. *denc* in Pt. II.

L

Lancaster

1169-70. De Lancastra : L. P. R., 16, p. 16.
1196. Loncastre : L. F., i. p. 7.
1202. De Lancaster : L. F., i. p. 18.
1310. Lancastre : L. F., ii. p. 8.

Langden (River on Lanc. border)

1157-63. Langedene (little) : Ch. ix., iv., L. P. R., p. 310.

' Long valley or denc.' See *lang* and *denu* in Pt. II. The form *lang* in first element is not like the same form in Northern names. O. E. *lang.* was lengthened in O. E. period to *lāng*, and this

normally becomes *lōng* in M. E. in Sth. and Mdlnds. In the present case, the O. E. of Early M. E. form of the name must have been *Lāngdene*, and the *ā* was shortened to *ă* before the combination of consonants, before the period of the rounding of *ā* to *ō* in M. E.

Langthwaite (Lancaster)

13th c. Langethwayte : Lanc. Ch., p. 336.

'Long thwaite.' See *lang* and *þveit* in Pt. II. Cp. remarks on *lang-* under preceding name.

Langtree

Type I.

1189-94. Longetre : Ch. III. xiv., L. P. R., p. 378.
1200-40. Longetre : Cockrsnd Ch., pp. 512-15.
1282-1316. Ibid. : Pr. Pen., p. 54.

Type II.

1294. } Langtre : } De Lac. Comp., { 10.
1305. } { 97.

'Long tree.' Cp. *lang-* in the two preceding names, and *trēō* in Pt. II. The Mod. form is from Type II. Type I., with *long-* represents the unshortened form of the word, O. E. *lāngа*, M. E. *lōnge*. There must always have been two types of pronunciation —the inflected *Lāngatrēō*, which gives M. E. *Lōngetree*, and the uninflected *Lāngtreo*, M. E. *Lăngtre*, which gives Type II. and Mod. form.

Larbrick

1212. Lairbrec : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 2.
1190-1260. Leyrbrec : Cockrsnd Ch., passim, pp. 185-86.
1292. Layrbrecke : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
Lairbrec : { T. de N., 401*b*, 408.
Leyrebrec : { 399*b*.
1609. Larbrecke, Robt. Kirkham of : Rich. Wills, p. 177.
1829. { Labrecke, John Kirkham of : } Rich. Wills., p. 176.
{ Labrick, Henry Kirkham of : }

Both elements of this name are Norse. The first element is O. N. *leir*, 'clay, earth, loam, mud,' and the second O. N. *brekka*, 'slope.' See both these words in Pt. II. Thus the name means 'clayey,' or 'muddy slope.' There is a *Leresbi* (Lincs.), D. B., 355, but in this name the first element looks like a pers. n. Cp., however, *Leirwyth*, 'muddy wood' (?) in J. of Gaunt's Reg., No. 1800, ii. p. 348.

Lark Hill (Nelson)

Lark Holme (Fleetwood)
Cp. *Lawerke* : T. de N., 402*b*.
The first element is O. E. *Lāwerce*, ' lark.'

Lathom
1086. Latune : D. B., 269*b*.
1201-02. } Lathum : { L. P. R., 48, p. 149.
1221-32. } { Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 595.
1236-56. } { Lanc. Ch., pp. 23, 28, etc.
1535-43. { Latham / Latheham } Leland, pp. 40, 41.

' At the barns.' (Cp. *Byrom* above=' at the byres.') This name seems to be a dat. pl. from the O. N. loan-word, *hlaðа* ' barn.' The meaning of the name would thus be ' at the barns.' Another spelling of this word in Mod. names is *Laith*. See this element in Pt. II. below.

The D. B. scribe evidently could not pronounce (*lāþum*), and mishearing the word, identified the second syllable with the common *tūn*, which was not a bad popular etymology. D. B. has another name *Lathum* in Suff. 402*b*.

Laverick Hall (Cawforth)
Cp. *Lawerke* : T. de N., 402*b*, and the names *Lark Hill*, *Lark Holme* above.

Layton (Blackpool)
1086. Latun : D. B., 301*b*.
1320-46. Laton : Wap. W. Der., 58.
1354. { Great / Little } Laton : L. F., ii. p. 141.

The early forms show that the Mod. spelling with *Lay-* is bogus. We must suppose M. E. *Lā-tūn*. The M. E. forms above throw no certain light, and one is left to conjecture as to the origin of the first element. We might assume O. E. **Lac-tūn* (*Lac*=pond, or pool), but this would give M. E. **Lahtun*, **Lauhtun*, Mod. **Laughton*, with, perhaps, a by-form M. E. **leitūn*, Mod. *Leyton*, or *Layton*. The M. E. forms which I have found, however give no justification for such an etymology, and still less for an identification of first element with the familiar *lea*, *ley*, etc., O. E. *lēāh*, *læh*. I can make no suggestion from the materials before me. The early forms give no encouragement to the idea that O. E. *lēac*, ' vegetable,' was the first element.

Lea (near Preston)
1086. Lea : D. B., 301*b*.
O. E. *leāh*, *læh*, q. v. in Pt. II.

Leagram (Bowland near Whally)

1556. {Lathgrym / Lagram} Ind. Ch. and Rlls., p. 439.
1593. {Laythegryme : / Laygrim Park :} Duc. Lanc., i. p. 61.
1629. Laythgrim : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 91.
1665. Laithgrim, Rich. Berby of : Rich. Wills, p. 30.
1669. Laygrim, Edm. Barthurst of : Rich. Wills, p. 22.

The first element looks like O. N. *hlaða*, 'barn.' (Cp. under *Lathom* above, and below in Pt. II.) The sixteenth and seventeenth century spellings are, I think, possible as representing this element. I am unable to make anything of the second element here. Of course if the order of the elements in the 1593 form were reversed—**Grimlayth*, there would be no difficulty, but one can hardly assume a pers. n. as a second element in an English, or any other Germanic pl. n., except, of course, in late formations like *Stanton Harcourt*, where the English name Stanton is qualified by the name of the Norman owner Harcourt. I know of no such inversion, however, in a genuine English compound.

Leck

1086. Leck : D. B., 301*b*.
1184-90. / 1190-1201. Lec : {Cockrsnd Ch., pp. 894-95.
1252. Lec : L. Inq.. p. 187.
1262. L. F., i. p. 136.
1292. Leck : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1332. Leek : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 89.

Lee

1236-56. Lee, Dom Joh. de : Lanc. Ch., 29.
1320. Le Lee : Wap. Surv., p. 36.

'The field.' O. E. *lēh*, etc.., q. v. in Pt. II.

Leigh (Bolton) [leiþ] [lecx heard by Mr. Sephton

1305. {Lyeghe : / Leigh :} De Lac. Comp., p. 97. / De Lac. Comp., p. 111.

Lench (Coupe)

1289. Lenche : Whall Ch., T. iii. p. 96.
1305. Lenke : De Lac. Comp., 67.

'The slope'? Cp. O. E. *hlenc*, Pt. II.

Leven (River near Coniston)

1196. Leven : L. F., i. p. 4.

Lever (Bolton)

TYPE I.

12th c. Leuer : Whall. Ch., T. ii. p. 40.
1212. Little Lefre : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 57.
1282. Leuir : L. Inq., p. 244.
1292. Lever : Orig. Rlls., 73*b*.
1331. Little Levere : L. F., ii. p. 78.

TYPE II.

1227. Leoure : L. F., i. p. 48.
1292. Little Leure : L. F., i. p. 167.
1310. Little Leure : L. F., ii. p. 4.
1326. Great Leure : L. F., ii. p. 62.

Leyland

1086. Lailand : D. B., 270*a*.
1140-49. De Leilande : Ch. III. v., L. P. R., p. 320.
1153-60. De Leilandia : De Leilanda : Ch. IV. v., L. P. R., p. 323.
1153-60. De Lailanda : Ch. V. v., L. P. R., p. 325.
1187-88. Lailand : L. P. R., 34, p. 68.
1229. Leiland : Cl. Rlls., iii. 221.
1256. Layland : Orig. Rlls., 15*b*.
1301. Laylande : L. F., i. p. 194.
1305. Tho. de Leyland : de Lac. Comp., p. 106.
1334. Laylond : Pr. Pen., 19.
1337. Leylond : Pr. Pen., 31.
1478. Leylond : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 336.
1538. Lailonde : Laylond : Pr. Pen., 80.

I have no suggestion to offer as to the first element beyond the trite and obvious one that it may be O. E. *lǣh*, 'field.'

Linacre

1292. Linacre la More : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.

'Flax field.' See *līn* and *æcer* in Pt. II.

Lindal

1292. Lindale : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1346. Linneldale : Wap. Lons., 72.

The first element may be either O. E. *līn*, 'flax,' as in *Linacre*, or *Lind*, 'lime tree.'

Lindeth

1346. Lyndeheued : Wap. Lons. Survey 82.

1606-07. { Lindith : alias Lyndell : } Duc. Lanc., i. p. 71.

'Lime-tree peak' (*hēāfod*), or 'slope' (*hlīp*).

Litherland

Type I.

1086. { Liderlant : Literland : } D. B., 269*b*.

1176-77. De Liderlanda : L. P. R., 23, p. 36.

1202. Litherlande : L. F., i. p. 11.

1212. Litherland : L. Inq., p. 13 (twice).

1251. Lytherland : L. Inq., p. 186.

1256. Litherlond : L. F., i. p. 119.

1298. { Uplytherlond : Dunlytherlond : } L. Inq., p. 288.

1317. Dounlitherlond : L. F., ii. p. 28.

1322. 1372. Lytherlond : { L. F., ii. p. 46. L. F., ii. p. 183.

1384. Lythyrlond : L. F., iii. p. 20.

Type II.

1226. { Uplederland : Letherdland : } P. Rll. Hen. III., L. Inq., p. 136.

1598. Letherland : Map of Lancs. given in Baines Hist. of Lancs., vol. i. facing p. 253.

Type III.

1211. Liuerland, R. de : C. Rll., No. 79, cit. L. F., i. p. 43.

'Place of the slope.' O. N. *hlīpar*. Gen. sing. Cp. pp. 179-180 below.

Littledale (Caton)

1332. Lytindale, Joh. de : Lancs. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 88.

Liverpool

'Lēofhere's pool'

Type I.

1190-1194. Liuerpul : Lancs. Ch., No. 4, Series xx. in Farrer's Lancs. Pipe Roll., L. P .R., p. 432.

1207-08. Liverpul : L. P. R., p. 220 ; also 1208 in King John's Charter, Muir and Platt, p. 154.

1210-11. Liverpol : L. P. R., p. 239, No. 57.

1226-67. Lieverpol : Pipe Rll. Hen. III. ; Lancs Inq., pp. 126-27 ; and Record Soc., v. 27.

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1254. Liverpol : Cal. Pat. Rlls. Hen. III., 1247-58, p. 366.
1279. Lyverpol : Cal. Pat. Rlls. Edw. I., p. 328.
1285. Liverpol : Cal. Close Rlls. Edw. I., 1279-80, p. 210.
1292. Lyuerpol : Plac. Q. Warr. Rlls., 381*b*.
1297. Liuerpol : Lancs. Inq., p. 300.
1298. Lyverpol : L. Inq., p. 286.
1306. Liverpol : L. F., vol. i. p. 208.
1307. Lyverpol : Cal. Pat. Rlls., Edw. I., 1301-07, p. 505.
1320. Liverpol : L. F., ii. p. 39.
1324-27. Lyverpul : Cal. Pat. Rlls. Edw. II.
1331. Lyverpol : Cal. Cl. Rlls. Edw. III., Pt. II. p. 398.
1333. Liverpull : Cal. Pat. Rlls. Edw. III., 1330-34, p. 441.
1340-43. Liverpul : Pat. Rlls. Edw. III.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples of these forms. They are overwhelmingly more frequent than any of the other types in all periods except in a certain kind of document of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cp. remarks under *Lither-*). In the three volumes of Lancashire Fines, edited by Mr. Farrer, this appears to be the only type, and it occurs about forty times. I have examined many dozens of volumes of charters and documents, besides those quoted above and below, and by the side of the hundreds of examples of this type which I have found in all ages, the representatives of the other types which I found are practically all accounted for in the statistics given below. Perhaps a dozen or so more examples of Type II. could be given from the charters and other documents of the seventeenth century, printed by Professor Muir and Miss Platt.

TYPE II.

1189-99. Leverpol. [Cited by Harrison without reference. I have not succeeded in tracing the document.]
1229. Leverepul : Cl. Rlls. Hen. III., p. 221 ; and Pat. Rlls. Hen. III., p. 242 (twice) ; also in Charter of same date, cp. Muir and Platt's Hist. Munic. Govt. p. 155.
1292. Leverpol : Plac. Q. Warr., p. 380.
1309. Leuirpole : Chorley Docs., Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh., 1889, p. 215.
1319. Leverpole : Rlls. of Parliament, 13 Edw. II., m. 14 (cit. Baines, v. p. 105).
1337. Leverpol : Cal. Pat. Rlls. Edw. III., 1334-38, p. 580.
1338. Leverepol : Cal. Pat. Rlls. Edw. III. Pt. iii., p. 184.

Liverpool

?14th c. Leuerpol (three times) : Chorley docs., p. 208.
1436. Leverpole : Rlls. of Parl., 15 Hen. VI., vol. iv. p. 55 (cit. Baines, v. p. 119).
1546. Leverpole : Pleadings of Duchy of Lancs., N. D. vol. iii., M. N. ii. (cit. Baines, v. p. 121).
1588. Leverpole : Castle Accts. Harl MS., fol. 528*b* (cit. Baines, v. p. 123).
1626. Leuerpoole : Ch. of Charles I., Muir and Platt, pp. 167-81 (at least eight times).
1654. Leverpole : Morton's Map in Camden's Britannia.
1693. Leuerpoole (four times) : Muir and Platt, pp. 192-93.
c. 1709. Leverpool : Account by Rev. Francis Brooksby, written to Thos. Earne, of the Bodleian (cit. Baines, v. p. 131).

TYPE III.

1222-26. Litherpol, R. de : T. de N., p. 371 (cit. also L. F., i. p. 43).
1361. Litherpole : Rymer's Fœdera, iii. Pt. ii. p. 617.
1546. Lytherpole : Pleadings, Duchy Lancs., vol. xi., L. N. 1 (cit. Baines, v. p. 121).
1586. Litherpole : Camden, p. 429, 1st ed. See Type IV. below.
1629. Litherpole (four times) : Deed of Charles I. (cit. Baines v. p. 125).

This was the commonest type in a certain class of documents from the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth : thus in a number of Fee Farm leases ranging from 1444 to 1555, I have counted 83 Lither- and Lyther- forms, but only 8 Liver-, Lyver- forms, 1 Lever- and 1 Lether-form. See Muir and Platt's Charters, etc., pp. 313-62.

TYPE IV. (variant of Type I.)

Henry VI. Lierpull : Dodsley's MS., vol. 87, p. 39 (cit. Baines, v. p. 119).
1529. Lyrpole (twice) : Duchy Pleadings, i. pp. 186, 187.
1535-1543. Lyrpole, alias Lyverpoole : Leland's Itinerary, vol. v. pp. 25, 40, 41.
1586. Litherpole, commonly called Lirpoole : Camden, p. 429, 1st ed. (cit. Baines, v. p. 122), and Harrison.

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Type V. (Variant of Type II.)

1598. Lerpoole: Fr. old map of Lancs. given in Baines, vol. i. facing p. 253.

L'erpoole: Drayton's Poly-Olbion, song 27, p. 373, in fol. ed. of 1747.

From the documentary evidence here set forth, I consider the following conclusions justified:—(1) Types I. and II. are of equal antiquity, and both were in use at the same time, from the earliest period in which the name stands recorded; (2) Type I. is incomparably more frequent in official documents than Type II., and it is the ancestor of the modern form in general use; (3) Type III. is unquestionably a genuine form, and was in use alongside of the other two, but, so far as my evidence goes, it came into existence later than these (I. and II.). It is not so common as either of them till the fifteenth century, and it is not developed by ordinary phonetic change from either—it has an independent origin which must be sought; (4) the remaining types are of later development than any of the other three. That they really did exist is proved by the documentary evidence, and by the fact that the Welsh Llerpwll is apparently derived from Type V.; (5) the development by phonetic change of these forms from Types I. and II. can be explained.

The Suffix Pool.

Before passing to the real problem, to explain Liver-, Lever-, Lither-, it may be as well to say a few words about the suffix -pool. A glance at the early forms shows that this element is variously spelt, pul, pol, poole, etc. In O. E. (Anglo-Saxon) there were two forms of the word for pool—*pul* with a short vowel and *pōl* with a long. The latter shows its normal development in the modern English word 'pool' as an independent word. It is a well-established law in early M. E. that long vowels in unstressed syllables were shortened. If therefore the second element in our name was originally the long *pōl* it would in any case be shortened by the period of the earliest recorded forms. If it was originally the short *pul* it would remain practically unchanged. In the spellings above it appears that the short *pul* is the more usual, but the shortened form of *pōl* is probably represented by the spellings *pol*, and in any case by *polle*. The spelling *poole* represents a new pronunciation, not developed in the compound *Liverpul*, etc., but reintroduced from the independent word which always preserved its long vowel. This long *ō* sound (written *oo* in M. E. to express length) developed in early Mod. E. into a long *ū* sound as in *pool* and hundreds of other words.

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The prefixes Liver- and Lever-.

I take types *Liver-* and *Lever-* to be two different forms of the same thing, namely, the O. E. pers. n. *Lēōfhere*. I shall hope to establish (1) that this name really existed, (2) that it had later the two forms *Levere* and *Livere*, (3) that it is used as a first element in other pl. ns. and local designations in English. The name *Lēōfhere* is not common in O. E., but it is perfectly well authenticated. Cp. Searle's Onomasticon, p. 328. It is found in a Ch. of Æthelred of 995, in the boundaries of land given in Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus, vi. p. 243—*æt Leofereshagan*—literally 'at Lēōfhere's haw.' Heyne cites the L. G. cognate *Liafheri*, *Lief-heri*. Cp. Altniederd. Eigennamen, 9-11 Jhrh.

There are several other O. E. pers. ns. with the word *leof-* ('dear') as a first element, and they all show a variant *lif-*. Thus *Livegar* by the side of *Lēōfgar* in a Manumission, cp. Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 633; *Lifing* instead of *Lēōfing* in a Ch. of about 949, Cod. Dipl. ii., p. 300 (see also numerous other references in Searle); *Lyefea* instead of *Lēōfheah* (Searle); and finally, our name *Lēōfhere* appears as *Lifere* on a coin of Cnut (ibid.). We are therefore justified in inferring that during the O. E. period the two forms *Lēōf(h)ere* and *Lif(h)ere* existed side by side. The reason for the development of the *Lif-* forms of this and other names, is not clear. It can hardly have been a pure phonetic development, but from the moment that the existence of the two forms is established the fact that we cannot explain the reason for one of them does not affect our argument. It remains to show the occurrence of this personal name in names of localities. Though this is not essential to the argument, it strengthens the case if we find the name *Lēōfhere* elsewhere. Not only can this be done, but in the place names in which it occurs we find among the old forms, when such exist, exactly the same alternation between *Liver-* and *Lever-* as we do in the old forms of *Liverpool*. In the Pat. Rlls. of 1222, p. 325, I find *Livredal*, and in the same Rolls, in 1225, I find *Leveresdal* twice, on p. 313 and p. 578. This name means the 'dale of Lēōfhere.' The name *Leverstock Green* in Bedfordshire is said by Professor Skeat to contain the name *Lēōfhere* (Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 70). The same scholar also assumes this name as the first element of *Leverington* (Cambs. Pl. Ns., pp. 15 and 16). The Yorks. *Liverton* appears as *Liuerton* in D. B., as *Leverton* in K.'s Inq. (see K.'s Inq., pp. 125 and 128); as *Lyverton* in the Knt.'s F.'s (K.'s Inq., p. 236). The name *Liversedge* in Yorks. appears as *Liuresech*, *Liuresec* in

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D. B., as *Leversege* in K.'s Inq., p. 30, as *Liversege* in the Knt.'s Fs. and Nomina Villarum (see K.'s Inq , pp. 225 and 360), as *Lyversege* in the F. A. (K.'s Inq., p. 280). I take this name to mean 'the edge,' or hill, of *Lēōfhere*—O. E. **Lēōfheresecġ*.

In view of these facts, I think I am justified in assuming that Liverpool goes back to an O. E. **Lēōfhere(s)pul*, which we should expect, on the analogy of the other names just quoted, to appear in the M. E. period as *Livrepul* and *Leverepul*, which forms we do actually find. It will be noted that the *s* of the genitive in the first element of pl. ns., when this is a pers. n., is sometimes retained, sometimes lost. Cp. § 29, p. 36 above. It is necessary to say a few words on the quantity of the vowels in the M. E. forms *Liver-*, *Lever-*. Of the former we can say nothing definite with regard to the assumed O. E. form *Lifere* or *Lifhere*, since we do not know by what process the *i* was developed here. All the modern names, however, point to a short vowel. Assuming, then, that O. E. had originally *Lifhere*, the shortening could be explained either by virtue of the combination *-fh-*, or, before *-fr-* or *-vr-* in the later forms *Livre-*, etc. The forms (M. E.) *Levhere*, *Lefhere* had undoubtedly a long *ē* originally, representing the O. E. *ēō*. But here again shortening would take place before the combination of consonants. If, on the other hand, the *h*—as is possible—was lost before the period of shortening, then we should get a form *Lēvere*, and alongside of it a shortened form *Levre-*, since such variants or doublets always occur in the M. E. period.

THE LITHER- TYPE.

As already stated, there can be no doubt of the genuineness of this form, nor any doubt that it is quite independent of Types I. and II. How did it arise, and what did it mean ? I believe it to be due to what is known as popular etymology. The name *Lefere*, never very common, was probably quite unknown as a pers. n. by the thirteenth century—the period in which we have the first occurrence of the *Lither-* forms. When a name is meaningless there is a tendency to alter it to something else which does mean something. *Liverpul* was meaningless, but *Litherpul* meant something. Its first element, which occurs also in *Litherland*, might mean, to the people of the thirteenth century, either 'foul' (from O. E. *lyther*), or 'a slope,' from O. N. *hlīth*. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Harrison that *Lither-* was the O. N. gen. *hlīthar*, meaning a 'slope,' and not the O. E. word, which, as a matter of fact, was chiefly used in a moral sense. I take it that the name arose somewhat in this way. People said 'What;

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Liverpul? What does that mean? It must be *Litherpul*, of course, the pool by the slope, like *Litherland*, a few miles down the river.' If we assume this origin of *Lither-*, whether in *Litherpul* or *Litherland*, we must explain the short vowel, for N. *hlīth* was long, and this would have produced a pronunciation with a diphthong, as in *lithe*, in modern times. We must have recourse to the law whereby vowels were shortened before two consonants (*th* being of course only one *sound*=þ), and assume that *Līthre-* was shortened to *Lithre-*. The fact that the vowel in *Liver-*, the commonest type of the name, was also short would help to establish the form with the short vowel, and to introduce this into the variant *Lither-* where shortening would not normally take place.

THE LIR- AND LER- FORMS.

The law seems to have been that *v* in M. E. was retained beween vowels, but lost before another consonant. Hence *Livere-*, *Levere-* retain their *v*, but early *Livre-* and *Levre-* become *Lir-* and *Ler-* respectively.

Harrison mentions a form *Letherpole* in the Ministers' Account of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1509, and I have also found the spelling in a fee farm lease of 1545 (cp. Muir and Platt, p. 340). These are the only examples of this form I know, but I find Mr. John *Lethurland* in 1659, in the Accounts of Plundered Ministers, Pt. II. p. 300. It is not difficult to explain. *Lether-* forms occur also in the early spellings of *Litherland*, and the probable explanation is that we have here confusion of the O. N. *hlīth* with the O. E. *hliþu*, *hleoþu*, 'slope,' which latter form would become *lēthe* in M. E. The O. E. and O. N. forms meant the same thing, and would be equally intelligible. Were it not for the *-er* termination, which represents the O. N. gen. ending *-ar*, we might assume *Lither-* to be English.

OTHER POOLS NAMED AFTER PERSONS.

In conclusion, it may be asked whether as a matter of fact there are other cases where a pool has been named after a person. In answer to this I would adduce the O. E. form *Offepul*, which occurs in a Ch. dated 709, but of which this is a M. E. copy. The Ch. is found in the Codex. Dipl., i. p. 70, and the above form in the boundaries which are given, C. D., iii. p. 376. The form would be *Offanpul* in O. E., and means 'Offa's Pool.' Again, *Otterspool* —earlier *Oterepul*, etc.—is in my opinion 'the pool of Ohthere.' *Sterespool*, in Lancashire, q.v. below, is the 'pool of *Ster*,' a personal name which is well established in O. E., O. N., and M. E.

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The above account explains each of the various forms of our name in a manner that is in keeping with the known laws of sound change in English. The method here followed of considering each type by itself is the only way to prevent confusion and error. I ought, perhaps, to add that were we so fortunate as to discover examples of the *Lither-* type in documents at present inaccessible or unknown to us, of, say, the eleventh or twelfth centuries, this would in no way affect the explanation which I have given of the origin and development of this and the other types. It would simply show that the popular etymology, which from the evidence before me I conclude to have been made in the thirteenth century, was made one or two centuries earlier. That is all. I should not be in the least surprised if this were really the case, but I very much doubt whether we shall ever get evidence to prove it.

Livesay

TYPE I.

1227. Liveseye : L. F., i. p. 48.
1242. Liveshey : Scut. of Gasc., L. Inq., p. 150
1246-47. Liveshay : L. A. R. (Rll. 404), i. p. 19.
1257. Lyvisay : L. Inq., p. 213.
1301. Lyvesaye : L. F., i. p. 192.
Liveshey. : T. de N., 399.
1377. Lyvesay : L. F., iii. p. 2.

TYPE II.

1305. Levesay : De Lac. Comp., p. 111.
1311. Levesay : De Lac. Inq., p. 15.
1393. Leuesay : L. F., iii. p. 41.

The first element is probably a short form of one of the O. E. pers. ns. in *Lēōf-*, possibly *Lēōfhere* (q. v. under *Liverpool* above). The second may be either O. E. *ēg*, ' watery land, etc.' (q. v. in Pt. II.), or, as I think more probably, O. E. *hæje*, ' fenced-in place,' ' dwelling,' q. v. in Pt. II. under *haga*. It is the Mod *hey*.

Locka Farm (Borwick)

1346. Lokehaghe : Wap. Sur.[2], 66.

The ' haw,' or enclosure, dwelling, of *Locca*, or *Loc*. Cp. *haga* in Pt. II. Searle mentions *Loc* from Grüber's Catalogue of English Coins. Crawf. Ch. have *Lucan weorðig*, which looks like a weak gen. The name *Loc, Locca*, apparently occurs in the Berks. *Lockynge*. D. B. has *Lockebroc*, 106 (Devon), *Lochesbere*, 103, 2 (Devon), *Locheshale* (Staffs.) 224.7, *Lokesfort* (Suff.) 333.

Longford (Manch.)

1320-46. Longeford : Wap. Sur.[2], 58.

The ' long ford.' See *Lang* and *ford* in Pt. II.

Longlands (Cartmel)

13th c. Longelondes : Lanc. Ch., 68.

No explanation required. See both elements in Pt. II.

Longridge (Preston)

1246. Langrig : L. F., i. p. 102.

' Long ridge.' See *lang* and *hryċġ* in Pt. II.

Longton (Preston)

Type I.

1274. Langeton : L. F., i. p. 152.
1339. Langeton : Whall. Ch., T. iii. p.
1349. Langetuna : Pr. Pen., p. 4.
1349. Langton : Pr. Pen., p. 56.
1320-46. Langton : Wap. Sur., 1, 36.

Type II.

1200. Longeton : Scars. Ch., 3, p. 260.
1341. Longeton : Pr. Pen., pp. 23, 128.
1564. Longeton : Pr. Pen., pp. 23, 128.

The ' long town.' For explanation of *lang-* and *long-* forms, cp. under *Langden* above.

Longworth (Hall, Durwen)

1520. Longworthe : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 20.

Either the ' long ' *worth* or ' enclosure,' or one belonging to a person called *Langa*, a nickname noted by Searle, meaning ' tall.'

Lonsdale

Type I.

1086. Lanesdale : D. B., 332*a*.
1168-69. Lonesdale : L. P. R., 15, p. 12.
1225. : Whall. Ch., T. vi. p. 367.
1283. Lonnesdale : L. F., i. p. 160.
1312. Lon(y)sdale : Cal. Cl. Rlls., 474.
1346. Lonnesdale : Lons. Survey, 76.

Type II.

1292. Lounesd(ale) : L. Inq., p. 294 (cp. Loun = R.).

Lostock

1205. Lostok : L. F., i. p. 24.
1296. Loestok : / Lestok : } Orig. Rlls., 97*b*.

See remarks under **hlos*, and *stocc* respectively, in Pt. II. below.

Lowick

1202. Lofwic : L. F., i. p. 10.
1256. Lowyk : L. F., i. p. 124.
De Lafwyk : / Laufwik : / Laufwyk : } Furn. Ch., p. 435.

The first element appears to be a pers. n.—either the O. E. man's name *Lufa*, or the O. E. woman's name *Lufu*. Both of these are well authenticated (cp. Searle). *Lufandun* occurs in a Ch. of 1052, C. D., v. p. 103 ; *Lufan mere* in C. D., iii. p. 381, ann. 381. Duignan (Worcs. Pl. Ns.) derives *Lovington*, Worcs. from O. E. **Lufantun*, and mentions (without reference) the above quoted *Lufandun* as representing the Mod. *Lovington* in Somers. from a Ch. (?) of 854. Cp. further *Lovecote* (Dev.), D. B., 115 ; and *Lovetone*, D. B., 16*b* ? The Yorks. *Lowthorp* has an entirely different origin for its first element. See discussion of this *Low-* under *Lowton* below.

Lowton (Wigan) [lōtn, M. A. B.]

1320. Lauton : Wap. W. Der., 36.
1332. Lauton : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 13.

The Yorks. *Lowthorpe* appears as *Louthorp*, Knt.'s Fees, p. 249, *Lowthorp*, in K.'s Inq., p. 59, in D. B. as *Laugetorpe*, *Logetorp*, *Loghetorp*. The first element both in the Lancs. and the Yorks. name may be O. N. *laug*, 'hot spring,' which, according to Cleasby-Vigf. is a common element in pl. n.

On the other hand the first element may be the pers. n. *Luhha*, *Luha*, for which Searle gives authority. The name occurs also in several pl. ns. in O. E. *Luhan treow* occurs in Crawf. Ch., ii. l. 4, p. 3. Napier and Stevenson in their note (p. 49) give several other instances of *Luhan-*, etc. ; *Luhhan beorh*, Birch, iii. p. 227 ; *Luhesford*, Birch, iii. p. 176 ; *Luhesġeat*, Birch, i. p. 515, etc. *Low-* in *Lowton* and *Lowthorpe* appear to be from a weak form of the name—*Luha* or *Luhha*.

Lune (River)

TYPE I.

12th c. Loun : Lanc. Ch., 13.
1346. Loon : Wap. Lons., 64.

TYPE II.

1228. Lona : Peramb. Lanc., Whall. Ch., p. 370.
1292. } Lone (' in Lonesdale ') : { Plac. Q. Warr., 386*b*.
1301. } { L. F., i. p. 194.

Lunt

1318. Lont, J. del : Scarisbr. Ch., 49, 275.
1544. Lunt : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 32.

Lydiate

1086. Leiate : D. B., 269*b*.
1190-1220. Lydiate : Cockrsnd. Ch., pp. 634, etc.
1292. Lydyate : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1300. Lideget : Scarisbr. Ch., 4260.
1315. Lidyate : L. F., ii. p. 20.
1323. Liddeyate : L. F., ii. p. 54.
1320-46. Lidiate : Wap. W. Der., 36.
Lydyathe : T. de N., 396, 398*b*.

From O. E. *hlydġeat*, ' turnstile.' Cp. this element in Pt. II.

Lynholm (Marton cum-)

1249. Lynholm or Lynolm : Inq. Hen. III., No. 153, p. 137.

' Flax valley.' See *līn* and *hōlmr* in Pt. II.

Lytham

TYPE I.

1086. Lidun : D. B., 301*b*.
1200-01. Lithum : L. P. R., 47, p. 130.
1292. } Lythum : { Plac. Q. Warr., 386*b*.
1320-46. } { Wap. W. Der., 44.

TYPE II.

1374. Leethom : J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii. p. 240.
1461. Lethum : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 1264.
1506. Lethum : L. F., iii. p. 159.

All the early forms point to the second element being originally the dat. pl. suffix as in *Lathom* (q. v. above). The name is apparently the dat. pl. of O. E. *hliþ*, ' slope,' and would mean ' on the slopes.' The forms with *i* represent the O. E. sing. type, those

with *e* (M. E. ē), the O. E. Merc. Pl. type, *hleoþum*, etc., M. E. *lēþum*.

M

Maghull [mēl]

(1) 1086. Magele : D. B., 269*b*.
(2) 1190-1220. Mahhalepul : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 635.
(3) 1255. Mahhale : L. Inq., p. 202.
(4) 1292. Maghale : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
(5) 1303. Maghhal : L. F., i. p. 202.
(6) 1312. Maghale : Orig. Rlls., 191*b*.
(7) 1320. Mael : Wap. W. Der.,
(8) 1332. Maghell : Lay Subs., Farrer MS., 2.
(9) 1327. Maghall : Lay Subs., Farrer MS., 14.
(10) 1526. Maghull : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 130.
(11) 1615. Maghall alias Male (= mǣl) : Duc. Lanc., 1 Edw. III., i. p. 78.

The first element is possibly O. E. *mǣġ*, 'woman,' 'maiden'—here referring to the B. V. Mary. The second element, to judge from the early forms, was originally O. E. *healh*, *halh* (q. v.), which was later confused with O. E. *hyll*, in this name. I take the name to mean then 'hill,' or 'halh' of the Virgin. The Mod. spelling is a survival of a M. E. spelling, *magh-* being the first element. Side by side with this form, M. E. had *mei*, *mai*, etc. This type is represented in No. 6. The local pronunciation is what one would expect O. E. *Mǣġ-hyll* or *Mǣġ-halh*, M. E. *meihyll* or *meihal(e)* to become. The ordinary pronunciation (məgal) is entirely misleading, and based purely upon the M. E. spelling seen in Nos, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 above.

Makerfield (Ashton, Wigan)

1168-69. Mackesfeld : L. P. R., 15, p. 12.
1203-04. Makeresfeld : L. P. R., 50, p. 174.
1248. Makefeld : Orig. Rlls., 10.
1292. Makerfeld : Plac. Q. Warr., 373*b*.
1338. Makrefeld : L. F., ii. p. 108.

The first element is presumably a pers. n. It might be O. E. *Maccus* (cp. 'Battle of Maldon,' l. 80), but though this would suit the 1168 form above, it is rather difficult to square with the others. There is a *Mackerfeld* mentioned, Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 72 (1252), as occurring in Staffs., but I find no corresponding name either in Duignan or the Gazetteer. There is also a *Macretone* in D. B., 100*b* (Devon). The name *Macus* is found in D. B. as that of persons holding land in Yorks. and Lincs., and *Machus* is

recorded as a Cornish landholder, as well as a variant of the Lincs. *Macus* (cp. Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 182). *Makeseye* occurs, C. D., No. 984. I can make nothing of such a name as *Maker-*.

Manchester

1086. Mamecestre : D. B., 270*a*.
1177-78. Mammecestra : L. P. R., l. 4, p. 38.
1227. Mamecestre : L. F., i. p. 48.
13th c. Manecestr(e) : Lanc. Ch., p. 115.
1323. Mamchastre : L. F., ii. p. 55.
1358. Mamcestre : L. F., ii. p. 157.
1382. Mamchestre : L. F., iii. p. 14.
1384. Mancestre : L. F., iii. p. 23.
1480. Manchester : L. F., iii. p. 139.
1505. Mancestre : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 1069.

The first element is clearly a pers. n. *Mammium* is suggested by Mr. Bradley in his article in the English Hist. Rev., July 1900.

A similar name seems to occur also in *Mansfield* (Notts.), D. B., 281. **Mamesfeld*, *Mamesfeud* in 1271, Inq. of Hen. III., No. 761, p. 247, though it occurs as *Malmefeud* in another Inq. (No. 157), p. 89, about twenty years earlier. Cp. also *Mammehavede*, Inq. Hen. III., No. 474, p. 134, of the year 1260, which is modern *Mamhead* (Devon). The change from *m* to *n* before *ch* is a natural one. Cp. a similar change before *k*, in *Gringel*>*Grimkil*, under *Cringlebarrow* above.

The precise form of the Celtic name is a question for Celtic scholars. Professor Kuno Meyer says ' it looks like a diminutive derived from *mammā*, ' mother,' or it might be derived from the name *Mamus*, which also occurs, if that stands for *Mammus*. On the other hand Holder prefers *Mancunium* for Manchester, though *Manuc(t)io* seems also to occur for it. We have *Mancius*, *Mancillus*, *Mancia*, *Manciacus*, which seems to support *Mancunium*'.

Marcroft Gate (Rochdale)

c. 1290. Morkroft : Scarisb. Ch., 34, 270.
1318. Morcroft : Scarisb. Ch., 51, 276.
1624. Marcroftgate : Duc. Lanc., i. 89.

The M. E. forms mean the ' farm on the moor.' See *Croft*, and *Mōr* in Pt. II.

Marland

1305. Merlande : De Lac. Comp., p. 115.
1332. Merlond : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 16
1685-89. Merland : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 40.

The forms throw no certain light. The first element may be either O. E. *gemǣru*, 'boundary,' q. v., or O. E. *mere*, 'lake.'

Marsden, Great and Little

1195. Merkesden, R. de : L. P. R., p. 93.
1241-42. Little Merkestene : L. Inq., p. 156.
Merclesden major : L. Inq., p. 157.
1292. Þva Merchesdene : Plac. Q. Warr., 381.
1305. Merkelesdene : De Lac. Comp., p. 73.
1311. Merclesdene :
Merclesdone : De Lac. Inq., 8.
1332. Merclesden, R. de : Cal. Inq., A. q. D., p. 298.

Probably the 'dean' of *Marculf*. This name appears in D. B., 373*b* as that of a person holding land previous to the Survey. Cp. Ellis, Introd., i. p. 184.

Marshaw Fell (Wyresd.)
Marshaw Head

c. 1360. Marchshagh : Forest Proceedings (Exchequer T. R.) Lancaster, No. 59 (cit. L. P. R., p. 426).
Marschasheued, Peramb. in MS. Brit. Mus., Lansd., f. 559, 51. (cit. L. P. R., p. 427).

The first element is either O. E. *merce*, 'dark,' or *mercė* (mierċe), 'boundary, march' (q. v.). The second element is O. E. *sċeaga*, 'wood,' q. v.

Martholme (Clitherœ)

1498. Merkethholme : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 13.

'Market meadow,' or 'hill.' The first element is the French (Picard), *market*, which appears to have got into English before the Conquest. It occurs in the Laud MS. of the A.-S. Chron. under the year 963. Cp. Plummer's Ed., i. p. 116. It must be remembered, however, that this MS. was not written till the first half of the twelfth century. The second element is N. *hōlmr*, q. v. in Pt. II.

Martinscroft (Wigan)

1332. Martinescroft : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 12.

The farm or 'croft' of *Martin*. See *Croft* in Pt. II. The pers. n. *Martin*, also in the form *Mærtin* appears quite early in O. E. sources. Searle gives *Mærtin* as the name of a serf (c. 995) from Birch's Ch.—no reference— and *Martin* as that of an abbot, 970; of a landowner, c. 980. A *Martinus* is recorded in D. B. as holding land temp. Edw. Conf. in Northants. (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 184.)

Marton

1086. { Merreton : D. B., 269*b*.
Meretun : D. B., 301*b*.

1175-76. Mertona : L. P. R., p. 31.

1249. Marton cum Lynholm (alias Lynolm) : Inq. of Hen. III., No. 153, p. 37. Cp. also under *Lynholm*.

1292. } Merton : { Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1303. } { Scar. Ch., 274.

1320-46. { Merton : } Wap. Sur.[2] { 54, 59.
Marton : } { 54.

For first element see remarks on *Marland* above.

Mawdesley

1286. Moudesley : L. Inq., p. 270.

1295. Maldislei : Rymer's Fœd., vol. i. Pt. II. p. 830. (Document relating to John of Scotland, and the king of France.)

1371. Maudeslegh : L. F., ii. p. 180.

1372. Maudeslegh : L. F., ii. p. 183.

The first element is probably the female pers. n. which in O. E. appears as *Mæþhild* (cp. Deor's Song, 14), the Latinised form of which is Mat(h)ilda. The Norm.-French form of this name was *Mauld, Maud*. For the second element, cp. O. E. *lǽh*, etc., Pt. II.

Mearley { **Great** / **Little** } (Whalley par.)

1241. Merlay : L. F., i. p. 82.

1296. { parua Merlay : } Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 205.
{ magna Merlay : }

1302. Great Merleye : L. F., i. p. 199.

1311. Great Merley : De Lac. Inq., 17.

The first element is possibly O. E. *gemǣru* (q. v.), in which case the name would mean ' boundary field.' Cp. for second element O. E. *lǽh* in Pt. II.

Medlar

TYPE I.

1190-1220. de Midelare : Cockrsnd Ch., pp. 168 and 170.

1215. Midleharye : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 29.

1226. Middelarghe : P. R. Hen. III., L. Inq., p. 140 (and R. S., vol. 27).

1235. { Midelergh : } L. F., i. p. 63.
{ in Middelare : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 169.

1250-75. de Midelare : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 171.

1292. { Mithelargh : / Midelargh : } Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*, 379.
1299. { Midelhergh : / Midelhargh : } Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 167.
13th c. Petit middelhargh : Lanc. Ch., 353.
1320-46. Midelarghe : Wap. Sur.², 52.
1332. Mithelarghe, G. and W. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 71.

TYPE II.

1227. Middelerwe : P. R. Hen. III., L. Inq., p. 140.

The 'middle hearh, or temple.' See *middel* and *hearh* in Pt. II. Type II. represents an oblique case.

Melling

1086. Melinge : D. B., 269*b*.
1201. Molling : L. P. R., 48, p. 153.
1229. Melling : L. F., i. p. 56.
1246. Melling : L. F., i. p. 94.

Mellor

1265. Meluer : L. A. R., p. 239.
1311. Mellore : De Lac. Inq., 16.
1512. Meller : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 16.
1555. Mellour : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 153.

There is a *Milverton* in C. D., iv. p. 256 (Milverton, Somers., 11th c.), which is *Milverton* in D. B., 86*b*, 2, the prefix of which rather suggests that of the 1265 form above, but this does not help us much. I cannot explain either *Meluer*, or *Milfer-*.

Meols, North

1086. Mele : D. B., 269*b*.
1094. Molas : Lanc. Ch., 10.
1177-78. Mieles : L. P. R., 24, p. 38.
1190. Mueles : Lanc. Ch., p. 112.
1236-37. Nortmolis : L. A. R., p. 80.
1236. Nordmoles : Cl. Rlls., iii. p. 346.
1241-42. Molis : L. Inq., p. 156.
1244. G. de Melis : L. Inq., p. 158.
1292. { Moeles : Plac. Q. Warr., 372*b*. / Northmoles : Plac. Q. Warr., 382. }
1294. { Meles : / Northmeles : } De Lac. Comp., { p. 10. / p. 9. }
1311. Mels : De Lac. Inq., p. 21.

Meols is from O. N. *melr*, 'sandhill.' See this element in Pt. II.

Mere Clough (Ross)

1228. Mereclo : Merecloc : } Lancs. Ch., xix. 2, L. P. R., p. 421.

See both these elements in Pt. II. under *mere*, and **clōh* respectively.

Mersey

1086. Mersham : D. B., 269*b*.
1141-42. in Merse : Ch. vii. 1, L. P. R., p. 277.
1210-11. Merseia : L. P. R., 57, p. 242.
1228. Mersee : Peramb. Lanc., Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 372.
1229. 1232. Merse : Cl. Rlls., iv. 169, iii. 221.
1236. Marseye : L. F., i. p. 75.
1292. Mersee : Plac. Q. Warr., 383.

Michael's-, St., on-Wyre

1086. Michelescherche : D. B., 301*b*.
1336. Michaelis super Wyre : Lanc. Ch., 454.

Middlegill (Roseb.)

1235. Midelgile : L. F., i. p. 67.

This name needs no explanation. Cp. *gill* in Pt. II.

Middleton (Carnforth)

1094. Middeltonam : Lanc. Ch., 10.

? Midgehalgh (Bilsborrow)

1326. Migelhalgh : Mygehalgh : } Lanc. Ch., 454.
1623. Midghall, J. Lund of :
1637. Midghalgh, Anne Lund of : } Rich. Wills, p. 187.

Yorks. *Midgley* is *Micleie* in D. B., 4*b* (see Index Locorum of K.'s Inq.), and the first element in the above name may represent O. E. *micel*, with voicing of the front cons. In this case the name would mean 'the great *halgh*, or corner.' Of course, it is possible that confusion with O. E. *myċġ*, 'midge,' has occurred, which would imply that the place was regarded as 'the murmurous haunt of flies on summer eves.' The latter is the view taken by Moorman of the first element of the Yorks. name.

Mitton

1102. Magnam Mitton : Ch. II. xv., L. P. R., p. 385 (in Yorks.).
1208. H. de Mitton : L. F., i. p. 34.
1228. R. de Myton : C. Rlls., iii. 29.
1283. Little Mutton : L. F., i. p. 161.
1292. Mitton : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.

Professor Moorman believes that this name in Yorks., an early form of which is cited above for comparison, contains as its first, element O. E. *(ġe)mǣðe*, ' meeting of two rivers ' (q. v. in Pt. II.) but I am not quite convinced.

? *Monkflat (land near Bolton-in-Furness)

13th c. { Monckeflat : } Lanc. Ch., 189.
{ Munkeflat : } Lanc. Ch., 212.

Monkroyd (Nelson)

1295. Munkerode : De Lac. Comp., p. 21.

The ' royd ' or ' clearance ' of the monks. See *Rōd* in Pt. II.

Monton

1190-1218. Mawinton (twice) : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 702.
1259. Mawynton : L. A. R., i. p. 233.
1537. Mavnton : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 1241.
1568. Mawentun : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 49.

The pers. n. *Mawa*, spelt *Mauua*, occurs in D. B., 419*b* as a ' liber homo ' of Suffolk, Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 184 (cit. also Searle), and Searle also cites the name *Mawa*, as that of a woman from the Liber Eliensis. I have no instances of these names from O. E. sources, unless indeed it occurs in the pl. ns. *Mawpul*, C. D., iii. p. 79, in a Ch. of Eadgar dated 972, and in *Mawurð* (= *Mawa(n)wurð*), C. D., iv. p. 300.

Moor House (Haml. near Ulverston)

1332. Morhouses, J. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 8.

Requires no interpretation.

Moreton

1292. Morton : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.

The first element may either be O. E. *mōr*, ' moor,' etc., or O. E. *ġemāre*, more usually *ġemǣre*, ' boundary.' See both these elements in Pt. II.

Mossley (Manchester) [Məzli, J. C. H.]

1332. Moseleghe, Rich. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 3.

' Boggy field.' See O. E. *mos* and *lēah* in Pt. II.

Moston

1302. Moston, R. de : Orig. Rlls., 124*b*.

1332. Moston : L. F., ii. p. 84.

The first element is apparently O. E. *mos* as in preceding name. The second requires no explanation, but cp. O. E. *tūn* in Pt. II.

Mowbrick

Type I.

1249. Moulebrek, alias Mulebrek : Inq. Hen. III., No. 153, p. 37.

1287. Molebrécke : L. Inq., p. 265.

1328. Moulebreke : L. F., ii. p. 78.

Type II.

1320-46. Moulbroke : Wap. Amond., 54.

The first element must be the pers. n. *Moll*, which occurs on coins and in other O. E. documents (Searle). *Moseley* in Staffs. appears to contain this name, since there are early forms such as *Mollesley*, etc. (Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.). Similarly, the Yorks. *Mowthorpes* (E. and W. R.) appear as *Muletorp* in D. B., 85, etc., and in *Multhorp*, K.'s Inq., p. 73, Nomina Villarum (K.'s Inq., p. 324), etc. I see that Björkman derives the D. B. name from O. N. *Mūli*, etc., for whose existence in England he gives evidence (N. Pn. in England, p. 96). The second element of *Mowbrick* appears (Type II.) to have been confused with *brōc*. See this word and *brekka* in Pt. II.

Musbury Heights (Darwen)

1311. Musbirry : De Lac. Inq., 19.

'Mouse burgh'? The first element may be O. E. *mūs*, 'mouse,' the second is O. E. *burh* (q. v. in Pt. II.). We have *Musberie* (Dev.), D. B., 108, 2 ; *Musedene* (Staffs.), D. B., 246*b*, 2 ; *Museli* (Bucks.), D. B., 146*b*.

Myerscough [maskə]

1379. Myrescogh : J. of Gaunt's Reg., ii. p. 240.

1455. Mirscowe : Feod Mil., cit. Baines, iv. p. 758.

1535-43. Merscow : Leland, iv. p. 9.

'Swamp wood.' Cp. O. N. *mýrr* and *skōgr*, Pt. II.

? **Mythop Lodge** (Blackpool)

1086. Midehope : D. B., 301*b*.

1317. Midhop : Whall. Ch., p. 876.

1332. Mithop : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. 2, p. 65.

1338. Midhop : Whall. Ch., p. 256.

Either 'the middle valley,' or a place in 'mid valley.' Cp. *hop* in Pt. II.

N

Nateby

(Called Aschebi in D. B. 301*b*.)

1204. Natebi : L. F., i. p. 22.

The first element is apparently a pers. n. Searle gives *Nata* as occurring in a pl. n. The reference is to *Natangravas*, which occurs in dat. pl. *Natangrafum* in C. D., i. p. 108, in a Ch. of Æðelbald, 716-43. If Kemble is correct in identifying this with Mod. *Notegrove* (Glos.), we must assume that the name was *Nāta*. This cannot be the name in *Nateby*, since O. E. *Nātanbi* would give Mod. **Noteby*. With the form in Kemble, D. B. *Nategrave* is apparently identical. The same name, as in *Nateby*, probably occurs in D. B., 165, *Nataleie* (45), Hants., which is Mod. *Nateley*. Here as in the Lancs. name, we must assume O. E. *Năta*. The names *Nata*, **Nāta* are not recorded, so far as I know, apart from above pl. ns. Searle gives *Nato* from Förstemann, but this does not help us in the present case, since we do not know the quantity of the first *a*. I can throw no light.

Nether Burrow (Tunstall)

1678. Nether Burrow, Will. Batty of : Rich. Wills, p. 25.

'Lower burgh,' or village. The latter word here may have the sense of fortified place or fortress. See O. E. *burh* in Pt. II.

Nether Kellet

13th c. Nutherkellet : Lanc. Ch., 177.

Cp. *neoþor* in Pt. II., and *Kellet* under this name above.

Netherlee Water

1190. Nedreleebrok : Whall. Ch., T. ii. p. 48.

This name stands apparently for O. E. **nædranlēh*, 'adder's lea.' *to Nædran beorge* occurs, C. D., iii. p. 412, in the boundaries of a Ch. of Æðelstan, dated 938. See C.D., i. p. 209; and in C. D., v. p. 45. *Næddærheall* and *Nedderheale* (dat.), occurs, C. D., iv. p. 103, in a Ch. dated 1045.

Nethermyrescoughthwate (Ulverston)

1670. Neithermerscowthwayte, Anna Lindow of : Rich. Wills, p. 184.

See *neoþor*, 'lower,' in Pt. II., *Myerscough* above, and *þveit*, 'division of land,' in Pt. II.

Newbiggin

1292. Neuwebigging : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1320-46. Newebyggynge : Wap. Sur.[2], 52.

'New building, or house.' O. N. *byging*, 'house, building.'

Newburgh (Liv.)

1189-94. Novo burgo, R. de : Lancs. Ch., xix. 1, L. P. R., p. 419.
1601. Newborough : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 69.

This name needs no comment, as both elements are common in pl. ns. and perfectly intelligible. *Newbury* in Berks. has precisely the same origin, but the second element here is in the dat. sing.—O. E. *byriġ*, whereas the Lancs. name is nom.

Newby

13th c. Nuby : Lanc. Ch., 369, 373, 374.

'New town.' See *bȳ*-r in Pt. II. *Newby* is the Norse equivalent of *Newburgh*. Cp. Germ. *Neustadt*, and Russ. *Novgorod*.

Newsham

1086. Neuhuse : D. B., 301*b*.
1195-96. Neusum : L. P. R., 42, p. 94.
1282., 1292., 1388. Neusum : L. F., i. p. 158. L. F., ii. p. 175. L. F., iii. p. 30.

This is apparently a dat. pl.=O. E. *æt niwum hūsum*, 'at the new houses.' We should expect the M. E. forms to be *-housen*, and the final syllable to have disappeared in Mod. Engl. The M. E. spellings doubtless represent approximately the pronunciation, and we may explain the ending *-um* instead of *-en* as due to confusion with the suffix *-hom* (q. v. Pt. II.). The Mod. form shows apparent confusion with *-ham*. See the earlier forms of *Oldham* for instances of confusion of these endings.

Newton

1086. Neweton : D. B., 269*b*.
?1094. Neutona : Ch. r. ii., L. P. R., p. 282.
1185-86. Niweton : L. P. R., 32, p. 60.
1298., 1318. Neuton : Lanc. Ch., 70. Lanc. Ch., 494.
1320-46. Newton : Wap. Amond., 54.

This name needs no comment. See *Niwe* and *Tūn* in Pt. II. The spelling from L. P. R. above is probably copied from an earlier document.

Nibthwaite

1202. Thornebuthwait : L. F., i. p. 13.
1208. Thornubythuieitht : L. F., i. p. 26.

O. E. *nebb* means 'nose,' 'beak,' whence 'promontory,' or 'ridge' of rock. The Mod. form has apparently lost a prefix. Are we to understand the two early forms quoted as *þōr-nebb-þveit*, 'the thwaite near (the rock called) *Thor's neb*' ? Or do they stand for something entirely different—*þorne bȳ þweit*—*Thornby thwaite* ? In any case the spellings are corrupt, especially the second.

Norbreck

13th c. Northbrek : Lanc. Ch., 434.
1292. Northbrec : Plac. Q. Warr., 387.
1378. Northbrek : L. F., iii. p. 5.
1490. Norbrek : L. F., iii. p. 143.
1667. Nor Breck, J. Hull of : Rich. Wills, p. 161.

The 'North hill or slope.' The early forms are self-explanatory. See *norþ*, and *brekka* in Pt. II.

Norcross

1513-14. Norcross : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 18.

The first element is *north* as in preceding name, the second is Scand. See *Kross* in Pt. II.

Nuthurst (Lancaster)

1302. Notehirst : Orig. Rlls., 124*b*.

'Nut wood.' See *Hnutu* and *Hyrst* in Pt. II. Cp. O. E. *æt Hnuthyrste=Nuthurst*, Warwcs., C. D., i. p. 63 (dated 704-09).

Nutshaw (Whalley par.)

1535. {Nutshay : / Nutteshay :} Tnley Rnt. Rll., pp. 6 and 7.

'Nut wood.' See *hnutu* and *sċeaga* in Pt. II. The sixteenth century spellings apparently show confusion with *-hay*, O. E. *-hæġe*, 'hedge.' A near cognate of this word was *haga*, M. E. *-haw* (vide *hæġe*, *haga*, etc., Pt. II.). A doublet '*-shay*' of M. E. *-shaw* may have arisen on the analogy of the pair, *hay-haw*.

Cp. *Dunnockshaw* and *Grimshaw* above. It is just possible that the first element may be a pers. n. *Hnotta*. Cp. *Hnottanford*, C. D., iv. p. 25 (ann. 968); on *Hnottan mæræ*, C. D., v. p. 112 (dated 856). If the first element be a pers. n. then we might assume an O. E. *Hnottan haga* or *Hnottan hæġe*, the M. E. forms above showing a natural elimination of the old weak gen. sing. in *-an* in favour of the more usual one in *-es*. Cp. § 29, p. 36 above.

O

Oakenhead (Carnforth)

1305. Okenheved : De Lac. Comp., 87.

'Head' or 'peak' of oak trees. See O. E. *āc* and *hēāfod* in Pt. II.

Oakenshaw (near Clayton cum Le Moors and near Breightmet)

1332. Akesħagh, Will de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 59.
1332. Okeshaghe, Elia de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 21.

'Oak wood.' See *Āc* and *sċeaga* in Pt. II. The substitution of the adjectival *oaken-* for the earlier simple *oak-* is apparently modern.

Ogden

1246. Aggeden : / Akeden : } L. A. R., pp. 75, 76.
1294. Uggedene : De Lac. Comp., p. 5.
1305. Ugdene : De Lac. Comp., p. 101.
1332. Okedene, R. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 30.

'Oak dene.' The second form above points to O. E. *āc* (a) *denu* as the original name. This is the most primitive form. No. 1 represents another type, with voicing of *k* before *d*. Both forms show shortening of O. E. *ā* to *ă* before the period of rounding of this sound to *ō* in M. E. Of the forms from the De Lac. Comp., I can make nothing, and suppose them to be corrupt spellings. The Mod. type, for which I have found no M. E. representative is due to the retention, or, more probably, the restoration of the O. E. *āc* type, M. E. *ōk*. The *k* has been voiced before *d*. See remarks under *āc* in Pt. II.

Oglet (Hale)

1512. Oglat : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 10.
1525. Oglett : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 24.

The first element is from O. E. *āc*, 'oak' (cp. *Ogden*); the second may be a word quoted by Middendorff—*ġelāte*, 'going out, ending, meeting'—cp. *to wega ġelætum*, Matt. xxii. 9; *æt ðæra wega ġelæte*, Gen. xxxviii. 21 (cit. B.-T.). The same usage occurs in the Chs., see M., p. 57.

In this case *Oglet* would mean 'cross-roads with oaks growing near.' Middendorff further identifies *ġelāte* with *lete*, 'farthest point, boundary.' This word, the only authority for which is a late ch., but which may nevertheless be a perfectly genuine word, M. connects with O. E. *lettan*, 'hinder,' and O. H. G. *lezzan*, 'hinder, enclose,' Bavarian *letze*, 'stockade.' The second element of *Oglet* may possibly be this *lete*, in which case the name would mean 'oak-boundary.' This element may occur in Yorks. *Hunslet*, which has practically this form in D. B., K.'s Inq. and Knts.' Fees, and Feudal Aids, though it appears as *Hunseflet* in the Wapentake lists. Cp. K.'s Inq., p. 360.

Oldham [*a*udəm]

1222-26. Aldholm: (T. de N.), L. Inq., p. 133.
1307-08. Oldhun: Orig. Rlls., 100.
1307. Oldum: L. F., i. p. 210.
1324. Oldoum: L. C. R., p. 150.
1332. } Oldom: { Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 31.
1352. } { L. F., ii. p. 132.
1366. Oldome, W. de: Lay Subs., Lanc and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 113.
1441. Oldom: L. F., iii. p. 106.

The early forms show that whatever the second element may have been originally, it was not what the Mod. spelling would lead us to expect. According to the first form above, it was *-holm* (q. v. in Pt. II.). The form of 1324 may also represent *-holm* with loss of *h*, as we should expect in an unstressed syllable, and *owm* (dipthongal) for *-olm-*. The other forms are ambiguous. They may all be meant for the shortened form of *-holm*, or they may represent O. E. *homm* (*hamm*), q. v. in Pt. II.

The first element is, of course, most obviously O. E. *eald*, *āld*, 'old,' but may also represent the short form of some pers. n., *Ealdhelm*, etc.

Ollerton (Leyland)

1282. Alreton: L. F., i. p. 160.
1329. Olreton: Whall. Ch., T. v. 268.
1497. Ollerton: L. F., iii. p. 146.
1631. Owlerton: Duc. Lanc., i. p. 95.

The first form points to O. E. *alra-tūn*, 'town of the alders.' The other spellings may represent M. E. *ō* from O. E. *ā*. But I am not clear as to the cause of the lengthening here. The 1631 form is probably a popular etymology, which connected the first element with the 'owl.' Such a derivation is not justified by the earlier forms. It may be noted that *Owler* Bottom occurs in Bury parish.

Openshaw [opnʃə]

1282. { Opynsawe : } L. Inq., p. 244.
{ Opinschawe : } L. Inq., p. 245.

'Open wood'=one that is not fenced in or enclosed? I can offer no other suggestion. See *sċeaga* in Pt. II.

Ordsall

1176-77. de Ordeshala : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1202-03. Ordeshal : L. P. R., 49, p. 163.
1292. Ordeshale : Orig. Rlls., 73*b*.
1360. Ordeshall : L. F., ii. p. 162.
1405-06. Ordesall : L. F., iii. p. 67.
1431-32. Ordesale : L. F., iii. p. 125.

The second element is O. E. *halh*, 'nook, corner,' see Pt. II. The first element is a pers. n. There are many names beginning with *Ord-* in O. E.—*Ordbeorht*, *Ordgar* (very frequent), *Ordheah*, *Ordwulf*, etc., etc. Cp. Searle, pp. 367-70. *Ord-* in pl. ns. may stand for any of these pers. ns. We have apparently the same name in a ch. of 963—*Oredes hamme* (dat.), C. D., iii. p. 463. The uncompounded name *Orde* occurs, D. B., 92, as that of a person holding land in Somerset previous to the Survey (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 191). *Ordeshale* (Notts.) occurs D. B., 281; *Ordeslede* (Norf.), D. B., 216*b*. For other instances of *Ord-* as an original prefix in pl. ns., see *Orford* below.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the Norwegian pl. n. *Olerud* had an intermediate form *Orde-rud*, though its original form was *Olaffurudt*, etc., i.e. *Olaf's* rud. Cp. Rygh (Gamle, Pers. Ns., p. 179.)

Orford (Warrington)

1511. Orford : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 10.
1546. Orforthe : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 31.

It seems probable that the first element of this name is also *Ord-*, though the above forms are too late to retain the *d*. The Staffs. *Orgreave*, a form of 1195 *Ordgrave*, and fourteenth century

forms *Ordgrave*, *Ordegrave*. Cp. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Names. The Cambs. *Orwell* appears as *Orduuelle*, *Oreduuelle* by the side of *Oreuuelle*. Skeat, however, regards the *d* in these forms as 'a Norman insertion' (Cambs. Pl. Ns., pp. 36-37). Most early forms of this name as given by Skeat certainly have *Ore-* in the first element, but see remarks and examples above under *Ordsall*.

The second element in *Orford* is explained under *ford* in Pt. II. The spelling with *-th* represents the Scand. form of the word.

Ormerod

1305. Ormerode : De Lac. Comp., 109 and 114.

The first element is the widespread O. N. pers. n. *Ormr*. A person of this name, or probably more than one, was a great Lancs. landowner. The name occurs also in Norw. pl. ns. (see Rygh, Gamle Pers. Ns., pp. 191-92), amongst which an almost exact counterpart of the Lancs. name occurs, *Ormsrud*. In Norske Gaardn., p. 93, Rygh gives the precise corresponding Norse name *Ormerud*. The second element, *-rod*, means a forest clearing, and is a very common ending in N. pl. ns. An O. E. *rōd* is also found in the chs. The N. of England *-rod*'s and *-royd*'s point rather to the O. E. *rōd*, than to the O. N. *ruð*. See O. E. *rōd*, etc. in Pt. II. There are several names beginning with *Orm* in England and Scotland—*Ormes Bay* (Carnarvon) ; *Ormathwaite* Hall (Cumb.) ; *Ormesby* (Yorks. and Nrflk.), etc., etc. See also the Lancs. names in *Urm-* below.

Ormskirk

Type I.

c. 1200. Ormaskirke : Scar. Ch., 6, 261.
1318. Ormeskirke : L. F., ii. p. 31.
1324. Ormiskerk : L. C. R., p. 98.
1320-46. Ormeskirke : Wap. Sur., 40.
1357. Ormeskyrk : L. F., ii. p. 154.
1384. Ormyskirk : L. F., iii. p. 20.

Type II.

1189-96. Ormeschirche : Ch. R. xi., L. P. R., p. 349.
1292. { Ormeschirch : / Ormeschirche : } Plac. Q. Warr., 370.

'The church of Orm,' i.e. built by him (?) Type I. has the pure O. N. form of the second element ; Type II. substitutes

the English equivalent. It is curious that the oldest example we have found should belong to the English type.

Orrell

1086. {Otegrimele : / Otringemele :} D. B., 209*b* {(Sephton), / (Wigan),} according to Harrison.
1201-02. Horhill : L. P. R., 48, p. 152.
1204-05. Horhull : L. P. R., 51, p. 190.
1205-06. Orhille : L. P. R., 52, p. 205.
1292. Orhull : L. F., i. p. 173.
1320-46. / 1356. Orell : {Wap. Sur., 36. / L. F., ii. p. 153.}

This name is one of the cases where the D. B. forms, inaccurate as they often are, put us on the track. These spellings are evidently attempts to represent the Norse pers. n. *Auðgrimr*, in the first element. This name, says Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., p. 21), was often used in Norway as late as the sixteenth century, when it was written *Udgrim*. He quotes the pl. n. *Udgrimsrud* which contains it. Whether *Auðgrīmr*, or **Odgrim*, or whatever the eleventh century name may have been, was normally shortened to the later *or-*, or whether a substitution took place we cannot, or I cannot, decide. The second element, according to the clear testimony of the early forms, with the exception of D. B., was O. E. *hyll*, 'hill' (q. v. in Pt. II.). The D. B. form *-ele* does not oppose this. Harrison's suggestion based, on D. B. forms, is, I fear, worthless. It shows the ingenuity of despair.

It is satisfactory to find that this pers. n. is actually recorded in D. B., 284*b* (Notts., cp. Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 199), in the form of *Oudgrim*, as that of a person holding land before and during the Survey. With regard to the second D. B. form above, I do not believe that we are justified in considering it to be merely a scribal mis-writing, or whether we have not here an entirely different name. D. B. has several names with this prefix, to wit—*Otrinberge* and *Otringeberge* (Kt., 8*b*, 2) ; *Otrinctun* (Yorks. and Kt.), 299 ; and *Otrintona*, 322*b*. ; *Otringe ha'* (Yorks.), 304, 2 ; with these cp. *Ottringham* (E. R. Yorks.) and *Otterington* (N. R., Yorks.), and probably *Oughtrington* (Chesh.). We must therefore take D. B. *Otringemele* as a genuine form of a name with a different first element. For the explanation of *Otring-*, see under *Otterspool*. [Since the above was written Björkman has collected numerous examples of *Oudgrim*, etc. from English sources,

including that given above. Cp. Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 107.]

Osbaldeston

1256. Osebaldreston : L. F., i. p. 123.
1323.} Osbaldeston : {L. C. R., p. 49.
1332.} {Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 74.

The *tūn* of *Ōsbald*. *Ōsbeald, Ōsbald* was a well-known O. E. pers. n. It occurs in the Yorks. pl. n. *Osbaldwick*, D. B. *Osboldewic* (1*b*, 12, etc.), Nom. Vill. *Osbaldewyk*, K.'s Inq., p. 368. The form of 1256 recorded above looks like a double gen. of the first element, with the O. N. *-r-* suffix, and the Engl. *-s-* ; or it may be due to the influence of the O. E. pers. n. *Baldhere*.

***Oselscroft**

1153-62. Osolvescrovt : Ch. R. xvii., L. P. R., p. 403.

'The croft or farm of *Ōswulf*. *Ōswulf*, later *Ōsulf*, was an exceedingly common name in O. E. as a glance at pp. 380-81, of Searle will show. As the first element of pl. ns., note *Osulvestone* (Leics.), D. B., 236*b*, *Osulvestune* (Shrops.), D. B., 233. The Norse form of the pers. n. *Asulfr* is recorded by Rygh, Gamle Persnavne, p. 70, and Björkman, Nord. Persn., p. 21, gives examples of it from English documents. So far as the form *Osulf* is concerned, it might be either O. E. or O. N. The dropping of *w* initially in unstressed syllables is normal.

***Oselslach**

1190-1212. {Osueluslache : Ch. vi. ii., L. P. R., p. 329, Ossellache : Ch. vi. vi., L. P. R., p. 332,} (Blk. Bk. of Sr. J. Byron).

O. Sc. *Asulf* (M.) in Aaserud. Rygh, Gamle Persnavne, p. 20, sub *Asa*.

'The stream of *Ōswulf* or *Ōswāld*.' See *lǽce* in Pt. II. Cp. *Osuluescrovt* ante.

Osmotherley

1260-72. Osmunderlawe, S. de :
1269. Asemunderlai, W. de : } Cal. Ch. {No. 118, p. 175. No. 4, p. 162.
1276-90. Asmunderlauue : } D. of L., {No. 59, p. 168.
1297. Asmunderlegh : } {No. 62, p. 168.
c. 1300. Osmunderlaw, Walter de : Furn. Ch., ii. p. 351.
1440. Asmunderlaw, Ywan de : Furn. Ch., ii. p. 383.
1588. Estmotherlie, Leonard Hyggyn of : Rich. Wills, p. 163.

1595. Osmunderley, Garnat of : Rich. Wills, p. 120.
1597. Osmuderley, Joh. Askew of : Rich. Wills, p. 1.
1618. Osmotherlow, } Leonard Jackson of: Rich. Wills,
1620. Esmotherlane, } p. 166.
1667. Osmonderley, J. Higgin of Netherhouses in : Rich. Wills, p. 147.
1670. Osmotherlow, Joh. Seele of : Rich. Wills. p. 247.
1676. Osmotherley, Garnet of : Rich. Wills, p. 121.

It is impossible to say for certain whether this name was originally, 'the mound, or hill of *Asmund*,' or his 'field.' We have here an early confusion of the suffix *-ley*, as from O. E. *lēh*, with *hlēw*, *hlāw* (q. v. Pt. II.), and a curious alteration of the pers. n. A parallel to this treatment of a name ending in *-mund* occurs in the Yorks. *Amotherby*, the D. B. forms of which are *Edmundrebi* and *Aimundrebi*, for which K.'s Inq. has *Aymunderbi* (K.'s Inq., pp. 110, 112, etc.). As will be seen from the above forms of the Lancs. n. a practically unaltered form of the pers. n. occurs as late as 1667, and that the suffix *-low* is used as late as 1670. There is another *Osmotherley*, in Yorks., and for this K.'s Inq. (thirteenth century) has *Osmunderley*, and D. B., 300*b* 2, *Asmundrelac* (=*lēh*). The pers. n. in the first element is pretty certainly the O. N. *Asmund*, with the gen. suffix *-er*. The corresponding Engl. form *Osmund* occurs, C. D., v. p. 74, in a ch. dated 825—*ad Osmundæs gartunæs hyrnan*. The pers. n. *Asmund* occurs in a list of Danish worthies in England, written c. 1066. Cp. Yorks. Dial. Soc. Trans., 1906, p. 44. The D. B. form of the Yorks. *Osmotherley* is unquestionably the O. N. and not the O. E. pers. n. See now Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 21, for other examples of the occurrence of the Scand. form in England. There is an O. Dan. name *Asmōþ*, recorded by Björkman, without English references. If it existed in this country, it may have had some influence on the curious form of the second element of the pers. n. element, which has existed since the sixteenth century in the pl. n. See principally, Bardsley on the family name *Osmotherley*—Engl. and Welsh Pl. Ns.

Oswaldtwisle

1241. Oswaldtuisil : L. F., i. p. 81.
1296. Oswaldestwysel : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 206.
1309. Osewaldtwysil : L. F., ii. p. 5.
1422. Oswaldestwysell : L. F., iii. p. 82.
1500. Oswaldwesell : } L. F., iii. p. 148.
Oswaldwesyll : } L. F., iii. p. 149.

O. E. *twisla* (q. v. Pt. II.) is the fork of a road or a stream. The first element is the common O. E. man's name *Oswald*. The Yorks. *Oswaldskirk*, which has the same form in K.'s Inq., appears as *Oswaldeschcrca* in D. B., 16*b* and 33*b*, etc.

Otterspool

Late 13th c. { Otrepul : / Otirpul : / Otterpul : } Furn. Ch., pp. 325, 330, 335.

1311. Otrepoll : De Lac. Inq., 21.

On the face of it, this may simply be the 'pool of otters.' The second element contained originally the O. E. short form *pull*, and not the long *pōl*, whence Mod. Eng. *pool*. See these words in Pt. II., and compare early forms of *Liverpool*.

On the other hand, a more probable origin of the first element is the O. E. pers. n. *Ohthere*, which occurs in Beowulf, and Alfred's Orosius.

The later form of the name, identical with the first form above from the Furn. Ch., occurs among the landowners in D. B. *Otre*, which occurs four times as that of a man holding land in Devon, and three times as that of one holding in Yorks. *Otro*, which is probably the same name, occurs as a landowner in Shrops. Cp. Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 199.

Outhwaite (Roeburndale)

1202. Ulvesthweit : L. F., i. p. 12.
1312. Wlfthwayt : L. F., ii. p. 10.
1520. Ulthuayte : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 22 (*n* for *u* in text).
1597. Ulthwait : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 64.

'The thwaite of *Ulfr*.' This pers. n. is the regular O. N. equivalent of O. E. *wulf*. *Ulfr* was a very widespread man's name in Norway, and there are many pl. n. derived from it. Rygh (Gamle, Pers. N., pp. 270-71) gives among others, *Ulsby*, *Ulsrud*, *Ulshus*, *Ulsnes*, etc. The Mod. form in the Lancs. names is due to the lengthening of *u* after the loss of *l*. It is quite normal for an *f* to be lost in this position. Cp. also the Norse names above. The 1312 spelling may represent either the Engl. form of the pers. n. *Wulf*, or *W* may be written for *U*.

Out Rawcliffe

1377. Outerouthclif : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 107.
1667. Outrawcliffe, / 1678. Outratcliffe, } Geo, Bennet of : Rich. Wills, p. 28.

See *ūt*, 'outer,' Pt. II. and *Rawcliff* below in Pt. I.

Ovangle (Morecambe)

1486. Ovangle : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 24.
1665. Oveangle, Joh. Muggald of : Rich. Wills, p. 198.

Overburrow

1591. Over barro, Ellen Battye of :
1629. Over burrowe, Agnes Battye of :
1634. Overbarrow, Thos. Batty of :
1671. Overburrow, Gilb. Batty of :
1677. Overbarrow, Elız. Batty of :
} Rich. Wills., p. 25.

Note the confusion between O. E. *beorg* and *burg* in the sixteenth and seventeenth century forms. Cp. both these elements in Pt. II.

Over Kellet

1325. Overkellet : Orig. Rlls., 289*b*.
Ante 1372. Overkellet : Furn. Ch., 226.

See *Kellet* above. *Over* in pl. n. may imply 'up country,' i.e. away from the river or sea.

Overton [ɔvətn]

1086. Ouretun : D. B., 301*b*.
1216-22. Ouerton :
1222-26. Offerton :
Hofferton :
} L. Inq., p. 123.
1246. Overton : Lanc. Ch., 127.
1292. Overton : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1342. Overtona : Furn. Ch., p. 272.

As this place is on the River Lune, it is probable that the first element is the O. E. *ōfer*, 'river bank, land bordering on water' (q. v. Pt. II.). There are a considerable number of *Overtons* in England, and some of them may have a different origin, namely O. E. *ofer*, 'over, upper,' etc. The Hunts. *Orton* (on the Nene) has, according to Skeat, Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 345, the same origin as our *Overton*. The earlier forms are *Ouretune*, D. B. *Overton* in Feudal Aids, etc. It should be noted that there is no proof that the *ō* in these forms is long, that we can only assume from the position of the places that the first element was *ŏfer*, 'bank,' and not *ŏfer*. In order to account for the Mod. forms (ouvətən) and not (ūvətən), we must assume a M. E. shortening to *ŏvre-* before *-vr*, and a later lengthening.

Oxcliffe

1086. Oxenclif : D. B., 301*b*.
1176-77. de Oxicliua : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1201-02. Oyseclive : L. P. R., 48, p. 152.
1202-03. Oxeclive : L. P. R., 49, p. 169.
1212. Oxecliue : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 87.
1254. Oxclifve : L. F., i. p. 115.
1300. Ouxclive : Furn. Ch., p. 525.
1325. Oxclif : L. C. R., p. 92.
1325-26. Oxclife : L. C. R., p. 133.
1397. Ouxclif : Furn. Ch., p. 291.
1440. Oxclif : L. F., iii. p. 105.
1666. Oxliff, John Bell of : Rich. Wills., p. 28.

(As a proper name, we find *Oscliffe* (1569, *Oscliffe*, 1626, *Osklef*, 1591, *Osliffe*, all in Rich. Wills, p. 205).

The name needs no explanation. Cp. the elements in Pt. II.

Oxen House Bay (Carnforth)

1332. Oxenhous : Furn. Ch., 498 ?

This name requires no comment. Cp. such names as *Oxenhop* (Yorks.), *Cowpen* in Northumb., *Cowfold* in Sussex, and *Cowpe* in Lancs.

P

Padiham

1294. { Padingham : / Padyngham : } De Lac. Comp., pp. 8, 15.
1296. Padiham : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 205.
1305. Padingham : De Lac. Comp., 104.
1324. Padiham : L. C. R., p. 32.

'The hām of *Padda*.' This name (*Padda*) occurs in Bede's Hist., Bk. iv. ch. 13. Cp. Sweet's O. E. T., pp. 143, 276, and Searle also notes that it occurs as a pers. n. in D. B. The forms quoted above, of 1294, point to a weak gen. *Paddan-*, *Padding-* being a common type of M. E. substitution for *Padden* (cp. p. 35, § 28 above, and under *Pilkington* below. The form of 1296 is suspicious, occurring as it does in Whall. Ch. It is rather curious that the Mod. form should be what it is. We should rather expect either **Paddingham* or **Paddenham*. The form *Padintone* (Staffs.) is found D. B., 247. There is a possibility, though not a strong one, that *Pading-* may stand for *Paddan ing*, 'Padda's field.' The form *Padinc* (Derby) occurs in D. B.

Parbold [pābət]

1192. Iperbold : L. F., iii. p. 172.
1202. Perebold : L. F., i. p. 19.
1282. Parbald : L. Inq., p. 248.
1292. Perbold : / Porbold : } Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*, 379.
1327. Perbold : L. F., ii. p. 67.
1344. Perebald : L. F., ii. p. 120.

Parlick (Chipping)

14th c. Pirloc : / Pireloke : } L. P. R., p. 423. / L. P. R., p. 425. } From forest Perambulations cit. by Farrer in above place.

'Pear orchard.' O. E. *Pirige*, 'pear tree,' and *loca*, 'an enclosed place.' The first element occurs in *Pirton* (Oxon.), which is *pirigtūn* in D. B. Cp. also Duignan's remarks on *Perry Barr* and *Perton*, or *Purton* (Staffs. Pl. Names, p. 118, and Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., pp. 48-49), on *Pirton*, which has a D. B. form *Peritone*. The forms above represent the O. E. *pirige*, the word for the tree. The Mod. *Parlick* seems to represent a M. E. *pere-*, which owes its vowel to O. E. *pere*, 'pear.' This confusion between two forms is not uncommon in tree-names. Cp. remarks under *þorn* in Pt. II. The distinction between the name of the fruit itself and that of the tree which bore it was lost in M. E. in many cases.

Pemberton (Wigan)

1200-01. Penberton : L. P. R., 47, p. 132.
1202. Penbreton : L. F., i. p. 38.
1323. H. de Pemberton : L. C. R., p. 50.

The above forms leave undecided, the point whether *Pen-* is the Celtic word meaning 'head,' 'hill,' or whether it is an abbreviation of *Penda* (q. v. below under *Pendleton*). The second element is perhaps O. E. *beorh*, 'hill,' etc. (q. v. Pt. II.); the third is the familiar *tūn*. The change of *n* to *m* before *b* is a natural development. *Penbeorh-* is a pleonasm. Cp. next word.

Pendle

1294. Pennehille : De Lac. Comp., p. 8.
1305. Penhul : / Penhil : } De Lac. Comp., p. 71. / De Lac. Comp., p. 103.

Were it not for the early spellings, one would be inclined to suggest an O. E. **Pendan hyll*. It is difficult, however, to get

over the three forms quoted. As it stands *Pen* looks like the Celtic word for 'hill,' etc., so that the name is pleonastic—not an uncommon thing in names which preserve a Celtic element. Cp. preceding name.

The English speakers probably did not know the meaning of *Pen*, and took it to be the name of a particular hill. If the name be really *pen- hyll*, we can only account for the development of *d* by assuming a form **pen(n)le*, or **penl*, in which the original syllabic nature of *hill* had disappeared, leaving *n* and *l* in contact.

Pendlebury

1198-1208. Peniƀri : Ch. IV. xi., L. P. R., p. 355.
1190-1212. Penulbery : Ch. III. vi., L. P. R., p. 329.
1205-06. de Penlebire : L. P. R., 52, p. 204.
?1241. Penhulbury : Whall. Ch., T. ii. p. 62.
1300. Penilburi : L. F., i. p. 188.
1316. Pennylbury : L. F., ii. p. 23.
1337. Penhulbury : L. F., ii. p. 103.
1410-11., 1423. Penulbury : L. F., iii. p. 70.; L. F., iii. p. 89.

See preceding name. If the explanation there given is correct, this name simply means the *burh*, or 'fortress,' or fortified place of *Penhill*. The forms of 1241, and 1337 give the name in full. Note that *bury*, *biri*, etc., are datives (O. E. *byriġ*).

Pendleton

TYPE I.

1135-41. Penelton Wode : Ch. IV. xv., L. P. R., p. 388.
1246. Penelton (Gt. P.) : L. F., i. p. 105.
1294. Pennyltone :, Penniltone : De Lac. Comp., pp. 7, 75.
1305. Penhiltone :
1321., 1333., 1357., 1418. Great Penhulton : L. F., ii. p. 41.; Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 312.; L. F., ii. p. 154.; L. F., iii. p. 74.

TYPE II.

1311. Penhilberton :

The *tūn* by or at the *Penhill*. See preceding names. Type II. would give **Pendleburyton* did it survive. This is obviously a late formation. O. E. **penhyllbyrġtūn* would be an almost inconceivable compound.

Penketh [peŋkiþ, near Rimmer, J. R.: peŋkit, J. E. G.]

1292. Penketh: Plac. Q. Warr., 386; and Orig. Rlls., 73*b*.
1296. Penket: Orig. Rlls., 97.
1320-46. Penketh: Wap. Sur., 36.
1541-42. Penkyth: Duc. Lanc., 33.

I can give no very satisfactory explanation of the first element in this name. It is apparently a pers. n., but which? There is a name *Pinca* recorded by Searle from the chs. collected by Birch, and by Kemble, and there is a pl. n. *Pincanhamm* in C. D., iii. p. 406 (ann. 929). Duignan suggests that this name *Pinca* is the first element in *Penkhull* (Staffs. Pl. Names, p. 115). There is a form *Pankerforda* (Norf.) in D. B. 129. I know of no reason, however, why an original *Pinca* should become *Penk-*, and I should expect to find an old form **Penca*, which unfortunately is not forthcoming. Harrison's derivation of the first element from *Penninga-* may be right, but at present there is no evidence for it of any kind. The second element may be either O. E. *ȳð*, 'water,' or *hȳð*, 'landing place,' which see in Pt. II.

Pennington (in Furness)

1086. Pennigetun (Amounderness): D. B., 301*b*.
1202. {Peniton: / Peninton:} L. F., i. p. 10.
1382. Pynynton: Pr. Pen., p. 57.

Harrison (L'pool District Pl. Ns., p. 61) suggests, with regard to the other Lancs. *Pennington*, that the first element may be O. E. *pennig*, the name of a coin. He says that in pl. ns. this element may have reference to a rental. This may be so, but he gives no authority. The early forms above put out of court the other suggestion that which H. makes concerning the other place of the same name, that it is the *tūn* of the 'Penning family.' Was there ever such a 'family'? The *-ing* in this name is clearly late, and must represent an earlier (M. E.) *-en-*, O. E. *-an-*, a weak gen. suffix. *Peniġ* or *Peniġa* may have been used as a pers. n.

Penwortham

1140-49. Penuerthan: Ch. III. v., L. P. R., p. 320.
1201-02. Pelwrdham: L. P. R., 48, p. 152.
1204. Penwrtham: L. F., i. p. 23.
1242. Penwirtham: Orig. Rlls., 3*b*.
1294. Pennewortham: De Lac. Comp., p. 8.
1305. Penwurtham: De Lac. Comp., p. 105.

Pex Hill

1296.
1305. } Pexhille : De Lac. Comp., pp. 45, 48, 59.

The ' hill ' named after a person called *Pæcc*, or *Pecc*. Skeat, under *Paxton* (Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 345), refers to *Paccelade* in a spurious ch., C. D., v. 5, and to the tribal *Pæccingas*, C. D., iii. p. 347, in support of the existence of the above pers. name. Under *Pegsdon or Pegsden* (Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 15) Skeat gives such early forms as *Pechesdone* (D. B., *Pekesdone*) from Feudal Aids. This pers n., however, for some reason, he identifies with *Pēāces del*, Early Lnd. Ch., p. 226. The fact is that while *Pēāces* has almost certainly a long diphthong, it is absolutely impossible to determine the original quantity of the vowel in the other names. Duignan assumes *Pæcc* as the first element in *Paxford*, *Paxton* (Worcs. Pl. Ns., p. 125). In any case none of these names present features of much interest.

Pickup Bank (Blackburn)

1295. Pycoppe : De Lac. Comp., p. 30.

The second element is undoubtedly *cop*, ' hill,' etc. See *cop*, Pt. II. The first element is perhaps the same word which survives in the north country *pike*, ' sharp pointed hill.' There is a *Pickworth* in Lincs. See Bardsley under *Pickworth*. If this suggestion is right the above is a bad spelling ; it should be *Pic(k)coppe*.

Pilkington

1190-72. A. de Pilkynton : Ch. III. vi., L. P. R., p. 329.
1202. A. d. Pulkinton : L. F., i. p. 18.
1292. Pilketon : Plac. Q. Warr., 369.
1303. Pilkenton, R. de, also Pilkinton : Feudal Aids., iii. p. 81.
1311. Pilkerington : De Lac. Inq., 20.
1320. Pilkyngton : L. F., ii. p. 33.
1346. Pilkynton, R. de : Feudal Aids, iii. p. 87.
1431. Pylkynton : Feudal Aids., iii. p. 96.
1535-43. Pilkenton : Leland, i. p. 43.

The *tūn* of **Pilkin* ? This pers. n. does not now exist as far as I know, but *Pyll-ing* is a well-known O. E. pers. n., and *Pilkin* would be a M. E. diminutive, like *Wat-kin*, *Wil-kin*, etc. Bardsley has an example of *Wilechin* (*ch*=*k*) as early as 1167, and of *Perkynson* (which implies the existence of *Perkin*, ' little *Piers*,' or *Peter*), in 1379, and the name *Alice Pillechun*, perhaps =*Pilkin*, occurs Cal. Ch. D. of L., No. 130, p. 176, in 1249.

A form *Pilchetone* (Northants.), which I cannot identify with a Mod. representative, occurs D. B., 221*b*, 2.

It is possible that the pers. n. in the first element may have been the weak O. E. diminutive **Pyllecca*, in which case the forms *Pilkin*, etc., would represent the gen. case, and the Mod. *-ing-* would be the common treatment of this suffix. Cp. p. 35, § 28 above.

The History of the Pilkington Family, by Col. J. Pilkington, 1894, throws no light on the origin of the name. The author apparently assumes the *-ing-* to be original.

Pilling [pilin]

1292. Pylin : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.

Either the O. E. patronymic *Pylling*, 'descendant, son of *Pyll*,' or the '*ing*,' or field of this worthy. See *ing* in Pt. II., and *Pilsworth* below.

Pilsworth (Middleton)

1618. Pillesworth : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 82.

Pill must be a short form of one of the few O. E. names beginning with this element. The best authenticated of these is *Pilheard*, 'comis regis merciorum coenulfi,' Sweet's O. E. T., p. 430, ch. xii. (799-802) ; *Pilbeorn*, *Pilgrim*, *Pilhild*, *Pilþrȳð*, are all cited by Searle with the reference 'Piper,' and nothing more. As there are two men of this name who published documents in 1862 and 1884 respectively, this is not enlightening. *Pileuuin* (O. E. *Pilwine*) occurs D. B., 283*b* and 291, as the name of one holding land in Notts. previous to the Survey (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 200).

Cp. also *Pilkington* above, and for the second element see *wurþ* in Pt. II.

Piltona, *Piltun* is found, C. D., i. p. 88, in a forged ch. dated 725, and D. B. has several names which contain the name *Pill-* as a first element :—*Pilleworde* (Beds., 212*b*) ; *Pillesdune* (Heref., p. 184) ; *Pillei* (Yorks., W. R., 308, 2). Mod. names are Pilham (Lincs.) ; *Pilsdon* (Dorset) ; *Pilsley* (Derb.), etc.

***Pinnington Manor**

1332. Pynynton : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 104.
1622. Pinnington : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 83.
1640. Piningtоn : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 102.

Platt

1292. Plat : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.

Pleasington

1208. Plesinton : L. F., i. p. 36.
1284. Plesyngton : Whall. Ch., T. iii. p. 108.

The *tūn* of *Plēsa*.' *Plōēsa* and *Plēsa* as pers. ns. occur in the Charters. See Searle, p. 390. D. B. has a *Plesinchon* (=*-hom*) in Essex, 276; and a *Plestuna* in Norf., 214*b*, but I cannot find the Mod. equivalents in Bartholomew. The 1208 form above evidently represents the weak gen. ending—O. E. *-an-*. For the change of this to *-ing-*, cp. remarks, p. 35, § 28 above.

Plumpton

1086. Plunton : D. B., 301*b*.
1230. Plumpton (R. de) : Cl. Rlls., iii. 371.
1256. {Plumpton : / Plumton :} L. F., i. p. 123.

'Plum orchard.' There is no reason why this should not be from O. E. *plūme*, 'plum.' See *tūn* in Pt. II.

Poulton

1086. Poltun : D. B., 301*b*.
1196. Pulton : L. F., i. p. 6.
1246. Polton : L. F., i. p. 100 (Poulton Warrington).
1330. Kirke-pulton : L. F., ii. p. 76. (Poulton-le-Fylde).
1594. {Pulton alias : / Powton :} Duc. Lanc., i. p. 63.

The first element may be O. E. *pul* or *pōl*, 'pool.' See also Harrison (L'pool District Pl. Ns., p. 61). If this is so, the Mod. spelling seems absurd, unless it may be explained as a blend of such a form as *Pouton*, and a reminiscence of the older forms with *l*. If the suggested etymology is correct, *pōltūn* ought to give a Mod. pronunciation (poltən) and *pultun* a pronunciation (paltən, pultən) or, assuming that the Duc. Lanc form is genuine, and that there really was a form in which the *l* had been lost, and the *u* lengthened, we should get from late M. E. *pūton* a Mod. (pɑutən). I do not know what the pronunciation at the present day really is.

Preesall [prīzə]

TYPE I.

1086. Pressoude : D. B., 301*b*.
?1099. Pressout : Lanc. Ch., p. 10.
1168. Presoura : L. P. R., 15, p. 12.
1176-77. de Pressora : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1189-94. Preshouere : Ch. III., xx. p. 431.

Type II.

1199. Presho : L. F., i. p. 9.
1246. Preshou : L. F., i. p. 96.
1261. Presho : L. Inq., p. 229.
1205-1284. Preshow : Cockrsnd. Ch. (passim), pp. 67, 85.
1297. Preshowe : L. Inq., p. 289.
1335. Preshou : L. F., ii. p. 98.
1355. Preeshow : L. F., ii. p. 148.

I cannot hazard a guess as to what the first element is. As regards the second, Type I. points to O. E. *hofer*, 'hillock,' or O. E. *ora*, 'shore,' while Type II. is clearly O. E. *hōh*, 'hill.' See these words in Pt. II. The Mod. form may be entirely bogus, and if I am correctly informed as to the local pronunciation there seems to be no warrant for it at all.

Preese

1086. Pres : D. B., 301*b*.
1190-1212. Prees : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 201.
1371. Prees : L. F., ii. p. 180.

Prescot

1177-78. de Prestecota : L. P. R., 24, p. 38.
1189-96. } Prestecote : { Ch. I. xi., L. P. R., p. 350.
1254. } { L. F., i. p. 116.
1337. Prestecotes : L. F., ii. p. 104.
1344. Prestecote : L. F., ii. p. 121.

This name corresponds to an O. E. *Prēōsta cot*, the 'house' or 'habitation of priests.'

Preston

1086. Prestone : D. B., 301*b*.
1094. } Preston : { Lanc. Ch., 9.
1175-76. } { L. P. R., 22, p. 31.
1179-80. { Presteton : } L. P. R., 26, p. 42.
{ de Prestona : } L. P. R., 25, p. 40.
1196. Preston : L. F., p. 6.
1279. Prestaton : L. Inq., p. 242.

The first element is the same as in *Pres-cot* (q. v.). For the second see *Tūn* in Pt. II.

Prestwich

1193-94. Prestwich : L. P. R., 40, p. 77.
1201-02. Prestwic : L. P. R., 48, p. 152.
1292. Prestwych : L. F., i. p. 171.
1311. Prestwych : L. F., ii. p. 12.

'The priest's abode.' Cp. preceding names, and *wīc* in Pt. II.

Priest Hutton (near Borwick)

1313. Presthoton : Orig. Rlls., 201.

The first element needs no explanation. To judge from the 1313 form, *Hutton* may be from O. E. *hōh tun*='hill farm.' Cp. *hōh* and *tūn* in Pt. II. If this suggestion is correct, then the *ō* in O. E. *hōh* has apparently not been shortened as it normally would have been before *-ht-*, nor has diphthongisation taken place as in *Houghton* (q. v.). The development must have been approximately (hōtun<hūtun<hutun<hatən).

Q

Quarlton (Derw.)

1505. Qherneton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 14.
?1569. Quernelton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 37.
1592. Quarneton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 65[3].

The forms are too late to throw any certain light, seeing how they differ among themselves, and that only the second is apparently at all reconcilable with the Mod. name.

Quernmore [wārmər]

1320-46. Quernemore : Wap. Sur., 60.
1575. {Wharmore : / Wharnemores :} Duc. Lanc., i. p. 47.

If the *qu* in the fourteenth century form were really original, and stood for O. E. *cw-*, the first element might be O. E. *cweorn*, 'mill.' But a change from initial *cw-* to later *wh-* (w̥) is strange (though cp. *whick*, *wick*, etc., in the dialects for O. E. *cwic*), whereas if we assume that the original initial was O. E. *hw*, this might quite well be written *qu* in Nth. Midland in M. E. (cp. § 3 (2) above), and would certainly be written *wh* in the Mod. period. But in this case I can throw no light at all on the meaning of an original **hwern-*. No such base exists in O. E. or O. N.

It is interesting to find the *n* omitted from the spelling as early as 1575, which shows the antiquity of the present pronunciation.

R

Radcliffe

1086. Radeclive : D. B., 270*a*.
1189-96. Radecliue de : Ch. I., xi. L. P. R., p. 350. L. F., i. p. 10.
1202. Rodeclive : L. F., i. p. 10.
1227. Radclive : L. F., i. p. 47.
13th c. Radeclyf : Lanc. Ch., 528 ?
1294. Radeclive : De Lac. Comp., 5.
1305. Radecleve : De Lac. Comp., 100.
1309. Radeclif : L. F., ii. p. 5.

Professor Skeat discusses the element *Rad-* in his monographs on the Pl. Names of Cambs. (p. 61), Herts. (p. 53), and Beds. (p. 62). He says that the element may be either *Rædа-*, a pers. n. or O. E. *rēād*—later *rād*, 'red,' but that there is nothing to prove which it really is either in Cambs. *Radfield*, or in *Radfield*, a name which occurs both in Herts. and Beds. A name *Raddeswell* is found in Whal. Ch., p. 306, in which the first element is certainly a pers. n., if the choice lies between this and the adj. There is a *Radebi* (Lincs.), D. B., 340*b* and 360, in which the probabilities are also perhaps in favour of a pers. n., though there is not reason why there should not be 'A rose-red city,' just as there is a *Whitby*, and a *Belgrade* (white city). In *Radcliffe* the evidence is as ambiguous as in the names which Professor Skeat treats. D. B. occasionally renders both O. E. *æ* (*ę*) and *ēā* by *a*, though *e* is more frequent for the latter. Cp. Stolze z, Ltlehre in D. B., § 19, and § 8.

Stolze, § 19, takes D. B. *Rade* in *Radeclive*, with which he compares *Readanclif* in C. D., *Radeflot*, for which C. D. has *Rēādan-flōd* (Somers.) to be from O. E. *rēād-*, and there can be no doubt that he is right. I think we are justified in assuming the same origin for the first element of the Lancs. name. Professor Skeat takes the same view apparently in the case of Herts. *Radwell*. He also cites the example *Radnor*, which he identifies with O. E. *readan ora*, 'redbank,' Birch Ch., ii. p. 167. At the same time it is curious that there should not be a single case of *rēde-* among the M. E. forms above given, and the form *Rodeclive*, if it is more than a scribal error it is rather disconcerting, but may be explained as a substitution of O. N. *rauðr* for O. E. *rēād*. Thus it rather confirms the view taken here of the origin of the first element. It seems to show at least that there was a period when this was felt to mean 'red.'

Rainford

1189-98. Raineford : Ch. II., xi., L. P. R., p. 353.
1202. } Reineford : { L. F., i. p. 15.
1208. } { L. F., i. p. 29.
1250-68. } Rayneford : { Cockrsnd. Ch., pp. 614-15.
1272. }
1292. Raynford : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1293. Rayneford : Orig. Rlls., 79.
1312. Ryneford : Orig. Rlls., 269*b*.

The first element is probably a shortened form of a pers. n. beginning with *Ragn-*. Cp. under *Rainhill*. For second element, cp. *ford* in Pt. II.

Rainhill

1190. Raynhull : Scar. Ch., 12, 263.
1246-47. } Reynhill : { L. A. R. (Rll., 404), i. p. 44.
1256. } Reynhull : { L. F., i. p. 125.
1292. Reynel (R. Molineus de) : Orig. Rlls., 73*b*.
1383. Raynhull : L. F., iv. p. 18.

Apparently the ' hill of *Ragnhildr*,' or ' *Rognvaldr*.' The former was a well-known Norse woman's name from the oldest times. Cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 197. R. quotes *Ragnildrud*, *Rangnildstad*, etc., as pl. ns. derived from this name. D. B., f. 304, gives a place *Rageneltorp* as occurring in Amounderness. This name evidently contains either *Ragnhildr-* or the very common O. N. man's name *Rognvaldr* (*Ragnvaldr*). This appears in pl. ns. as *Rorel-*, *Ravel-*, *Rong-*, *Rorelstad*, *Ravelsnes*, *Rongestveit*, etc. Cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 210. The name *Raganald* Asbeorn's son, occurs in a list consisting chiefly of Scandinavian names written probably about 1023 on a page of MS., given in facsimile in the Lay Folk's Mass Book., E. E. T. S., 1879. See also Trans. Yorks. Dial Soc., vol. vii. p. 44, where this list is reprinted in an article by the late George Stephens, with additions by Rev. E. M. Cole. D. B. contains several pl. ns. which have either *Ragenhildr-*, or *Ragnvaldr-* as the first element : —*Ragenaltorp*, Lincs., 376*b* ; *Rageneltorp*, Yorks., 304 ; also what look like contracted forms of one or other of the above pers. n. in *Ragendale*, Leics., 234*b* ; *Ragenehil*, Notts., 281 ; *Ragintone*, Dors., 82*b*. Enough has been said to show that the first element is well established in pl. ns., and that the pers. ns. suggested were known both in Scandinavia and this country. See further Björkman's N. Pn. in Engl. for other examples of the pers. ns. in this country.

Rampside (Dalton)

1623-24. Rampside, Thos. Hutton of : Rich. Wills, p. 163.

The element *-side* is suspicious, and often stands for earlier *sēte*, or *-sheafod*. The first element may be a form of the pers. n. *Hræfn* (q. v. Pt. II.).

Ramsgreave (Blackburn)

1294. Romesgreve :
1305. Rommesgreve : } De Lac. Comp., 7, 112.
1311. Romesgrave : De Lac. Inq., 11.

First element a pers. n. *Ram-*, *Rom*, ' the ram,' and the second element O. E. *grǣfa*, a ' bush,' etc. (q. v. Pt. II.).

Ramsholm (Ribchester)

1229. Ramesholm : Cl. Rlls., iii. 385.

' Hræfn's Holme.' The first element, probably *Hræfn*, here a pers. n. See discussion of this word in Pt. II. For the second see *hōlmr* in Pt. II.

Ravensmeols (now lost)

1246. Ravenesmeles : L. F., i. p. 102.
1292. Ravenesmeles : Plac. Q. Warr., 369.
1320-46. Rauenismeles : Wap. Sur., 36.
1529. Raynmeles : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 25.

' Hræfn's sandbank.' See *hræfn* and *melr* in Pt. II.

Raven Winder (Cartmell)

1609. Ravenswinder, Jenet Barrowes of : Rich. Wills, p. 22.

See preceding name for first element. I cannot explain *-winder*.

Rawcliffe, Upper [rokli]

1086. Rodeclif : D. B., 301*b*.
1205-06. Bouteclive (*B* for *R*) : L. P. R., p. 202.
1212. Routheclif : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 37.
1222-26. de Routhclive (T. de N.) : L. Inq., p. 129.
1292. Rouceclive : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1292. Routheclyve : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
? 1295. Roclif, A. de : De Lac. Comp., 35.
1301. Rotheclif : L. F., i. p. 214.
1318. Upperoutheclif : L. F., ii. p. 26.
1323. Uproutheclyf : L. F., ii. p. 51.

1369. Uprauclyf : L. F., ii. p. 177.
1382. Uprouclif : L. F., iii. p. 12.
1423. Rouclif : L. F., iii. p. 88.
c. 1466-69. Uprauclif : L. F., iii. p. 132.
1535-43. Raudeclif : Leland, iv. p. 9.

The first element is the O. N. *rauðr*, 'red' (q. v. Pt. II.), the second, the common word *cliff*, which also see Pt. II. For the loss of *-th* before consonants, see § 19 (5) in Introduction. The Yorks. *Rawcliffe* has the same origin, and appears as *Roudeclife* in D. B., 7*b*. Cp. K.'s Inq., Index Locorum, p. 522, and *Rouclyff*, Nom. Vil., p. 364. The first element may possibly be the O. N. man's name *Rauðr* (q. v. in Björkman's N. Pn. in England, p. 114). Cp. further *Routhesthorn* (A. de), Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 36 (ann. 1332).

Read

1201-02. Revet (twice) : L. P. R., p. 154.
1298. 1311. Reved : L. F., i. p. 186. De Lac. Inq., 15.
1332. Reuid : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 86.
1364. 1368. Reued : L. F., ii. p. 169. p. 174.
1407. Rede : L. F., iii. p. 68.

The first element is perhaps a pers. n. *Ræf-* a shortened form of a name such as *Ræfwine*, *Ræfnōþ*, etc. As to the second I cannot hazard a guess regarding an element which in 1201 is *-et*, and ever after merely *-ed*, or *id.* There is a place *Refham* in C. D., v. p. 7, and *Refam* (Lincs.) occurs in D. B., 376, 2.

Reddish

1205. Redich : L. P. R., p. 205.
1262. Reddich : Rediche : L. L., i. p. 134. (another fine same page).
1311. Redyche : L. F., ii. p. 11.
1314. Redich : L. F., ii. p. 15.
1381. Redich : L. F., iii. p. 11.

The early forms all point to ditch, O. E. *dīċ* (q. v. Pt. II.), as the second element. The first element may be O. E. *rēād*, 'red,' q. v. above under *Radcliffe*.

Reedyford House (Nelson)

1332. Rediford, Joh. de, and Henry de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 63.

This name explains itself. See *hrēōd* and *ford* in Pt. II.

Reedy Snape

1588. Readysnape : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 162.

'Reedy pasture.' See *Snape* in Pt. II.

***Reeve Holm** (Land in Bolton-le-Sands)

1203-04. Gerefholm : L. P. R., 50, p. 180.

'The Reeve's Holm.'

Renacres Hall

c. 1200. Ruhinacres : Scar. Ch., 6, p. 261.
c. 1260. Ruynacres : Scar. Ch., 20, p. 265.
Runacres : 14, p. 263.
Roynacres : 16, p. 164.
c. 1265. Renacar : Scar. Ch., 22, p. 266.
c. 1280. Rowynacres : Scar. Ch., 27, p. 267.
1284. Runacres, A. de : L. F., p. 163.
1334. Rynacres : L. F., 63, 280.
1366. Ruynacre, T. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 114.
1539. Reynacre maner : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 30.

Some of the early forms above seem to indicate a dat. of O. E. *rūh* as the first element—'at the rough fields'—but I cannot reconcile with this the forms in *Ruyn-*, *Royn-*, *Ryn-*, and *Ren-*.

Ribble

1142. inter Riblam : Ch. VIII., i., L. P. R., pp. 278-9.
1174-76. inter Ribbile : Ch. II., vi., L. P. R., p. 327.
1188-98. Ribbel : Lanc. Ch., 111.
1229. Ribbel : Cl. Rll., iii. 221.
1292. Ribel : Plac. Q. Warr., 383.
1311. Riblewater : De Lac. Inq., 18.

Ribbleton

1202. Ribelton : L. F., i. p. 21.
1202-03. Ribbleton : L. P. R., 49, p. 171.
1224. Ribbelton : L. F., i. p. 45.
1292. Ribelton : 375*b*.
1320-46. Rybbleton : Wap. Sur., 48.

Ribby

1086. Rigbi : D. B., 301*b*.
?1094. Ribi : Ch. I., ii., L. P. R., p. 290.
1168-69. } Rigbi : L. P. R., 15, p. 12.
12th c. } Lanc. Ch., 13.

1248. Rygeby : L. Inq., p. 185.
1292. Riggeby : Plac. Q. Warr., 388.
1380. Riggeby : L. F., iii. p. 7.

'The ridge, or rig *by*'? The first element is probably from the O. N. form, which see under O. E. *hryċġ* below. D. B. has a name *Rigesbi* (Lincs.), 339*b*, 2. The first element here looks like a pers. n., but I cannot trace it.

Ribchester

TYPE I.

1086. Riblecastre : D. B., 301*b*.
1187. Ribbecestre : L. F., p. 1.
1219. Ribescestre : L. F., i. p. 40.
1373. Ribbechester : L. F., ii. p. 185.
1383. Ribchastre : L. F., iii. p. 17.

TYPE II.

1227. Ribbelcestre : L. F., i. p. 51.
1326. Ribble chastre : L. F., ii. p. 64.
1422. Ribbilchestre : L. F., iii. p. 82.

Ridehalgh

1635. Rydehalgh : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 99.

Rishton

1278. Ryston : L. F., i. p. 155.
1304. Riston : L. F., i. p. 205.
1311. Risseton : De Lac. Inq., 15.
1320. Risshton : L. F., ii. p. 39.

'Rush town.' See *tūn* in Pt. II. The same prefix occurs in *Risetone* (Staff.), D. B., 249, *Rushden* (Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 22), earlier *Rissenden*, D. B., 21. See further under *rysċ*, Pt. II.

Risley

1297. Riselegh : Orig. Rlls., 102.
1303. Ryselegh : L. F., i. p. 200.
Risselegh : Scar. Ch., 43, 273.
1332. Riselegh : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. pp. 42, 46.

'Rush field?' See preceding name. Professor Skeat takes *Riseley* in Beds. to mean 'brushwood lea,' from O. E. *hrīs*. Cp. Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 38.

Ritherham (Fleetwood)

1570. Rotherholme : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 45.

'Cattle Holme.' See *hrīðer* in Pt. II. One is rather tempted to identify the Duc. Lanc. form with the O. E. pers. n. *Hrōðhere*. It is difficult to explain how the Mod. form could have developed out of this, and it is equally difficult to square the 1570 form with the O. E. form. The pers. n. occurs perhaps in Yorks. *Rotherham*, D. B. *Rodreham*, K.'s Inq., *Roderham*, p. 230.

Rivington

1202. Rowinton : L. F., i. p. 18.
1202. Revington : L. F., i. p. 22.
1332. Rouynton : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 104.
1344. Rovyngton : L. F., ii. p. 121.

The inconsistency of the early forms, and the incompatibility of the last two, and even the second to some extent, with the Mod. form makes it rash to conjecture without further information. We might, however, suggest that the *Revin-* form represents O. E (ġe)-*rēfan* (gen.), 'steward,' and that the *Rovin-* forms, are O. E. (ġe)-*rōfan*, an unmutated form which is not recorded in O. E.

Rixton (near Warrington)

1320-46. Ryxton : Wap. W. Der., 36.
1332. Ryxton : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 103.
1332. Rixton : L. F., ii. p. 86.

I think the first element is O. E. *rysċ* with metathesis **rycs*, written *ryx*. Cp. under *Rishton* above, and *rysċ* in Pt. II. D. B. has *Ricstorp* (Yorks.), 326, 2.

Robey

1086. Rabil : D. B., 269*b*.
1184-85. Rabi : L. P. R., 31, pp. 55, 57, 59.
1311. Rabi : De Lac. Inq., p. 23.
1320-46. Robye : Wap. Sur.[1], 38.
1376. Robi : L. F., ii. p. 190.

Rochdale [rætʃdə]

TYPE I.

1186. Recedham : D. B., 2*a*, 24.
Recedhā : D. B., 270*a*.
1241. Rachedale : L. Inq., p. 157.
1276. Rechedale : Plac. Abbrev., p. 266.
1295. Racchedal : Cal Ch. Rlls., i. p. 362.
Rachedale : L. F., i. p. 179.
1286. Rached : Whall. Ch., T. de Bull., v. p. 170.

Cf. Whall. Ch., passim for *Rachedale.*

1292.
1294.
1305. } Rachedale : { Plac. Q. Warr., 387*b*.
De Lac. Comp., p. 6, 96, 117.

1311. Ratchedale : De Lac. Inq., 20.
1324. Rachendale : Orig. Rlls., 270*b*.
1642. Ratchdale, Thos. Holt de : Preston G. Rlls., p. 113.

Type II.

1292. Rochedale : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b* and 382.
1617. Rochdale : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 79.

The Essex *Rochford* appears as *Racheford* in an Inquest of Hen. III., No. 873, p. 298.

Roddlesworth (Stream near Blackburn)

1159-64. Rodtholfeswrtha : L. P. R., p. 374.
1332. Rothelesworth, R. de : Lanc. Ch., xiv. No. 1, Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 44.
1497. Rothelesworth : L. F., iv. p. 146.
1558. Roddillesworthe : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 41.

'The *worth* of *Hrōðulf*.' This pers. n., which the form from the ch. makes quite certain here, is well established in O. E. both in history and fable. *Hrōðulf* is a nephew of King *Hrōðgar* in Beowulf, and his name occurs twice in the poem—1018 and 1182. The name is also found in the same form as in Beowulf in Laud. MS. of the A.-S. Chron., ann 887, Plummer's Ed., i. p. 81. This name is identical with the H. G. name *Rudolf*. The full form Latinised is found in D. B.—*Rodulfus*, an under-tenant of lands in Sussex, at formation of the Survey (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 383), and the contracted forms *Rolf* and *Roulf*—the latter only once—as the name of persons holding land in the time of the Confessor (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 207). From this contracted form the Oxfordsh. *Rousham* is derived, which in early documents appears as *Rodulweshama*, Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 69 (1267). I owe this form to my pupil, Mr. H. Alexander. The Yorks. *Rawlston* appears in D. B. as *Roluestun*, 52*b*. and *Roolfestone*, 87*b*. This name was also in use among the Norsemen, O. N. *Hrōlfr*, and from this type come the Norman *Raulf*, *Rolf*, etc. Oxfordsh. *Rowsham*, and Yorks. *Rowlston* apparently have this form of the name in their first element, though, as the above quoted form of the former shows, the English type was also used, and was no doubt the original. See also Björkman's remarks on *Hroðulf*, N. Persn. in Eng., p. 113.

This name occurs in the form *Roof*, in *Hutton Roof* (Kirkby Lonsdale), formerly *Hutton Rolf* according to Farrer, L. F., i. p. 19 note.

Roeburndale

1362. Rebournedale : L. F., ii. p. 169.
1560-61. Roborondall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 41.
1671. Roberindale, Marsh of : Rich. Wills, p. 190.

'Valley of the red stream'? The 'dale' is presumably named after the river *Roeburn*. The first element, as appears from the 1362 form, may have been 'red,' M. E. *rēd-* from O. E. *rēād*. The later forms rather suggest the Scand. form *rauð*, *rōð*. As regards the second element, it must originally have come from O. E. *burna*, etc. (q. v.), though in the later forms it appears to have been altered on some analogy, the nature of which I am unable to suggest.

Roseacre

1249. Rasaker : L. Inq., p. 172.
1283. Raysacre : L. F., i. p. 160.
1286. Raysaker : L. Inq., p. 264.
1633. Rossacre : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 98.

'The field of the cairn.' See O. N. *hröysi* in Pt. II. for the first element.

Rossall

1086. Rushale : D. B., 301*b*.
1228. Roshale : L. F., i. p. 55.
1228. Roshal (twice) : Cl. Rll., iii. 62-3.
1228. Roshale : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 78.
1265. Rossale, Sir T. de : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 53.
1292. Roshale : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 418.

'Horse nook.' I take the first element to be O. E. *hros*, 'horse,' since all the early forms except that of D. B. point to this. The second element is O. E. *halh* (q. v. Pt. II.).

Rossendale

1292. Rossendale : Plac. Q. Warr., 387*b*.
1294. Roscyndale : L. F., ii. p. 3.
1296. Rosendale : De Lac. Comp., 46.
1305. Roscindale : De Lac. Comp., 76.
1307-08. Roscundale : Orig. Rlls., 160.
1310. de Roscyndale : L. F., ii. p. 3.
1323. Rossyndale : L. C. R., p. 29.
1329. Rossendale : Whall. Ch., p. 203.
1374. Rossyndale : J. of Gaunt's Reg., i. p. 236.

'The dale of *Rōskil* or *Rōskin*' (O. N.). The name *Roscetell, Roskell*, etc., is mentioned by Björkman (N. Pn. in Engl.), p. 16, as occurring in several English documents, e.g. *Roschil, Raschil*, etc. in D. B., and in the form *Roskitil* in a Runic inscription in the I. of Man. The pl. n. *Roscheltorp* is also quoted by B. from D. B. *Roschintone* (Derby) occurs D. B., 305. As regards the form of the name with *-in* suffix instead of *-il*, see B.'s remarks on the variants *Asketill*, etc., *Asketin*(us), *Askil* and *Askin*, loc. cit., pp. 17 and 19. The family name *Ruskin* is apparently from this Scand. name, with the change of suffix as in *Roscyndale* above.

Rowley (Nelson)

1535. Roley : Twnley. Rll., p. 2.

Probably 'rough lea.' *Rowley Regis* in Staffs. has among other early forms, *Rohele*, which may point to O. E. *rūh*, 'rough,' as the first element. More conclusive is Staffs. *Rownall*, which has the forms *Rugehala* (D. B.), and in thirteenth century *Roughenhale, Rowenhale*. See both names in Duignan's Staffs. Pl. Ns. *Rowey* in Hunts. Skeat thinks contains a pers. n. *Rūga*, which means 'the rough one.' Skeat, however, assumes the adj. in *Rowney* in Beds. The older forms of this name, however, prove nothing at all. The only O. E. authority for the existence of the pers. n. *Ruga* is the landmark *on rugandic* in a ch. of 933, C. D., v. p. 215. The Yorks. *Rowton* appears as *Rugeton*, D. B., 53 ; and *Rugheton*, D. B., 87*b*. It should be noted that the uninflected form of O. E. *rūh* becomes Mod. *rough* (raf), while the inflected *rūgan*, etc., becomes *row-* (rau). The Lancs. *Rowley* may be pronounced (rouli) for all I know. If so this is a spelling pronunciation.

Royley

1294. Reyleye : De Lac. Comp., 1 and 2.
1305. Rylay : De Lac. Comp., 88.
1332. Rylegh : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 32.

'Rye field.' Other names which may contain this element are *Rietone* (Warwcs.), D. B., 240*b*, 2 ; *Ritone* (W. R. Yorks.), D. B., 327*b*. Cp. O. E. *Ryġe* in Pt. II.

Royton

1260. Ryton : L. F., i. p. 133.
1434. Ryton : L. F., iii. p. 98.

'Rye enclosure.' The first element is the same as in the preceding name.

***Rudgate** (Prescot)

1497-98. Rudgate, juxta Prescote : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 13.

'Red road?' O. N. *rauðr* and *gata*.

Rufford

1318. Roughford : L. F., ii. p. 26.

1332. Rughford : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. pp. 43 and 48.

The above forms make the origin of the first element quite clear. The meaning of the whole is 'rough,' or 'difficult ford.' Cp. *Fairford* in Glos., which means just the reverse—a 'favourable' or 'easy ford.'

Rumworth [ramәþ]

1205. Rumwrth : L. F., i. p. 24.

1310. Rumworth : L. F., ii. p. 4.

1332. Romworthe, A. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. 2, p. 38.

'The worth of Ruma.' This pers. n. is recorded by Searle only as occurring in the pl. n. *Rumanhel*, C. D., 474. Other pl. ns. containing the same name are *Rumburgh*, Cal. Anc. Dds., ii. A. 3289 (1409, Rumburgh, Suffolk), *Rumholt* (Norf.), 1293, Cal. Anc. Dds., ii. A. 2784, p. 120.

S

Sabden

1296. Sapedene : De Lac. Comp., p. 40.

A name *Saba* (Moore MS.), or *Sæba* (Namur MS.) occurs in Bk. II. ch. 5 of Bede's History, and is cited by Sweet, O. E. T., p. 135, l. 70. Searle points out that this is a diminutive of the better known name *Sæbeorht*, or *Sæbryht*. To judge from the Mod. form, this pers. n. might be the first element of *Sabden*. On the other hand, there is no reason for doubting the greater primitiveness of the 1296 form. If this be the genuine earlier form of the name, the only pers. n. I can suggest is the O. N. *Sappi*, which says Rygh may be a form of *Sæbjorn* (Norske Gaardnavne, i. p. 3). This pers. n., according to R., occurs in the name *Saktmoen*, which is found as *i Sappamonum* in Diplom. Norveg., i. 715 (ann. 1497). The voicing of *p* before *d* is natural. The second element is O. E. *denu*, 'valley' (q. v. Pt. II.). It is perhaps worth noticing that the place now spelt *Sawbridgeworth* in Herts. contains the O. E. pers. n. *Sæbryht*, as the old forms clearly show (Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., pp. 56 and 57),

and that it is now said to be pronounced 'Sapsworth,' and even 'Sapsed.'

The name *Sapiston* occurs in Suffolk, and this appears in D. B. as *Sapestuna*, which presumably has the gen. of the pers. n. *Sap-*, or *Sab-* as its first element.

Another possibility for the first element of *Sapden* is that it may represent O. E. *Sæppe*, 'spruce fir.' This origin is assumed by Skeat for the first element of *Sapley* (Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 334), and by Duignan for the Worcs. *Sapey Pritchard*, which the latter takes to represent O. E. *Sæpiġe*, 'fir tree' (Worcs. Pl. Ns., p. 145).

Salesbury

1235. Saleby : L. F., i. p. 70.
1250. Salebury : Whall. Ch., p. 157.
1259. Salebiri : Inq. of Hen. III., No. 418, p. 116.
1311. Salesbury : De Lac. Inq., p. 18.
1329. Salebury : Whall. Ch., p. 264.
1503. Sailebury : L. F., iii. p. 154.

The first element is probably a pers. n., but I cannot trace it. There is a *Saletun* in D. B., 84*b*, which is Mod. *Salton* (Yorks.).

Salford

TYPE I.

1086. Salford : D. B., 270*a*.
1176-77. L. P. R., 23, p. 36.
1202-03. L. P. R., 49, p. 168.
1229. Cl. Rll., iii. p. 221.
1292. Plac. Q. Warr., 372*b*.
1398. L. F., iii. p. 50.
1423. L. F., iii. p. 89.
1480. L. F., iii. p. 139.
1501. L. F., iii. p. 150.

TYPE II.

1168-69. Sauford : L. P. R., 15, p. 12.
1202-03. Sauford : L. P. R., 49, p. 163.
1250. Saunford : L. F., i. p. 111.

Professor Skeat, Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 21, derives the first element of the Beds. *Salford* from O. E. *salig* or *sealh*, 'willow,' and includes the Lancs. *Salford* under the same element.

Salwick (Preston)

Type I.

1086. Saleuuic : D. B., 301*b*.
1200-01. Salewic : L. P. R., 47, p. 130.
1256. Sallewyke : L. F., i. p. 123.
1320-46. Salwicke : Wap. Amond. Sur., 46.
1662. Salwicke, Will Hankinson of : Rich. Wills, p. 135.
1678. Solwick, Robt. Hollinghead of : Rich. Wills, p. 153.

Type II.

1562. Sawick, G. Duddell de : Preston G. Rlls., p. 31.
1630. Sawicke, Will Bayne of : Rich. Wills, p. 26.
1672. Sowick, Joh. Hardman of : Rich. Wills, p. 135.

The first element is either the pers. n. which apparently occurs in *Salesbury* above, or the word for willow as in preceding name. Cp. *wic*, ' place,' etc. in Pt. II.

Samlesbury

1178-79. in Samesberia : L. P. R., 25, p. 40.
1187-88. de Samelesbure : L. P. R., 34, p. 69. p. 73.
1189-94. Samlisburi : Ch. III., xiv., L. P. R., p. 378.
1227. Samlesbiri : L. F., i. p. 53.
1228. Samlesbyr : Orig. Rlls., 58*b*.
1246. Samelesbiri : L. F., i. p. 99.
1259. Samelebir : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 89.

The first element is undoubtedly the Hebrew pers. n. *Samuel*. This does not appear to have been popular amongst the English in early times—Searle only records one instance of its use, namely, as 'Alcuin's name for *Beornred*, Archbishop of Sens.' It is not recorded by Björkman, On. Pers. Ns. in Engl., as having been adopted by any Norseman in this country, but Rygh mentions a Norw. pl. n. *Samuelrud* (Norske Gaardn., ii. p. 201). In vol. i. the same writer records *Samerud* (pp. 7 and 9), but says that this is possibly a Mod. name.

Sankey

Type I.

1175-82. Sonchi : Ch. xv., i., L. P. R., p. 287.
Soneky : T. de N., p. 398.
1292. Sonky : Plac. Q. Warr., 386*b*.
1296. Sonky, Robert : L. F., i. p. 180.

1320.
1325.
1350. Great Sonky : L. F., ii. p. 40. L. C. R., p. 118. L. F., ii. p. 128.
1380. L. F., iii. p. 8.
1425. L. F., iii. p. 124.

Type II.

1202. Sanki : L. F., i. p. 15.
1228. Sanky : Peramb. de Forest., L. P. R., p. 422.
1292. Sank : Plac. Q. Warr., 386.
1220-46. Sankye : Wap. W. Der. Sur., p. 36.

I am inclined to think that the *-k-* belongs to the first element, as it is difficult to account for an element *-key*. There is a place called *Stiffkey* (Norf.), for which I find a form *Stivekeye* in Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 169. This I take to be O. E. **Steofecan ēġ* (or *ēā*). The same pers. n. occurs also in *Stukeley* (Hunts.), which is found as *Styvecle*, Cal. Anc. Dds., B. 3019, and *Stevicle*, B. 3000 and 3017. Cp. also *Stevicesworde* (Herts.), D. B., 139*b*. As regards *Sankey*, one might perhaps assume a pers. n. **Sanec* or **Sanoc*, though I can find no confirmation for this conjecture. The second element is either O. E. *ēg*, or *ēā* (q. v.).

Savick Brook (Preston)

1252. Savok : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 406.

'Sæffa's oak ?' The early form points to O. E. *āc*, M. E. *ōc* as the second element, which, however, has been changed to *ick* in the Mod. n. This is due, no doubt, to a vowel of uncertain quality and character being pronounced in an unstressed position, so that the primitive origin of the suffix was disguised. Cp. *Parlick* above from *Perloc*. The first element may have been a pers. n. *Sæffa*, etc., which Searle mentions as occurring in C. D., 650, in *Sæffanmor*.

Sawrey (Hawks)

1597. Sawrey, Joh. Setherthwaite of :
1606. Sawrey, Ellen Setterthwaite of : } Rich. Wills, p. 244.

Scaleber (Tunstall)

1202. Scaleberge : L. F., i. p. 151.

'Skalle's mound or barrow.' One would expect the first element to be a pers. n. We might assume a form *Scald*, the loss of *d* before a following consonant being common. Cp. p. 33, § 29 (5) above. There is very little evidence, however, for such a

name in O. E. the nearest approach I have found being the form *Sċealdan ford* in a ch. of 940, C. D., v. p. 256. This is cited by Searle as the only example of a pers. n. *Sċealda*, but one may suspect that we have here the O. E. representative of M. E *scheld*, etc., 'shallow.' This is doubtless the case in the thirteenth century *Schaldeford* (cit. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.), the Mod. Staffs. *Shallowford* (see further under *Skelwith* below). However the first element in *Scaleber* can hardly have been a word meaning 'shallow,' and we are therefore driven back on the conjecture of a pers. n. Probably the same name occurs in the first element of the Yrks. *Scalby*, D. B., *Scallebi* and *Scalebi*, see Index of K.'s Inq. The evidence is inconclusive and unsatisfactory. I now note that Björkman assumes a Norse pers. n. in *Scallebi*, and *Scalðorp*, which he quotes from Birch's Ch., No. 22. An old W. Norse name, *Skelle*, exists, cp. N. Pn. in Eng., p. 121. This seems to confirm my conjecture. I think O. E. *Scalu*, and O. N. *Skāli* are hardly likely elements here, though the former should, perhaps, not be excluded as a possibility.

Scales

c. 1200. Scalis : Scar. Ch., 3.
? 1329. Scales : Whall. Ch., p. 253.

'The huts.' Cp. O. E. *scalu*, Pt. II.

Scarisbrick

Type I.

1200-38. Scaresbrec : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 551.
1238-45. Scaresbreck : p. 552.
1268-79. Scarisbrec : p. 553.
1298. Skaresbrek : L. Inq., p. 287.
1320. Scaresbreke : Wap. W. Der. Sur., 42.
1324. Skarisbreek : L. F., ii. 58.
1333. Scaresbrek : L. F., ii. 90.

Type II. (?)

1292. Skareghbrek : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.

Type III.

1200. Scharisbrec : Scar. Ch., 5, 261.
c. 1260. Scharesbrec : Scar. Ch., 16, 264.

'The slope from the scar.' See O. N. *Skjer* and O. N. *brekka* in Pt. II.

Scolefield (Nelson)

1342. Scholefeld : Whall. Ch., p. 326.
1374. Scolefeld : L. F., i. p. 188.

'The field of the shed or hut.' The first element is the M. E. form of O. E. *Skāli*, 'shed, hut,' which see under O. E. *scealu*, etc. in Pt. II.

Scotforth

1086. Scozforde : D. B., 332*a*.
1204. Scoteford : } L. F., i. p. 22.
Scozford : } 23.
13th c. Scotford : } Lanc. Ch., 336, 339.
Scotfford : }
1319. Scotford : L. F., ii. p. 37.

The first element is the pers. n. *Scott*, which means originally the Irishman. It is recorded by Searle as occurring on a coin of the time of Æthelred, and also in the O. E. pl. n. *Scotteshealh*, C. D., 1218. The *z* in D. B. and L. F. is a typical Norman spelling for the sounds *ts*.

Sefton

1086. Sexton : D. B., 1*a*, 13, and 269*b*.
1236. Ceffton : Cl. Roll. Hen. III., L. Inq., p. 144.
1249. Cefton : L. F., i. p. 110.
1318. Sefton : L. F., ii. p. 31, and Scar. Ch., 49, 275.

The first element is almost certainly the O. E. pers. n. *Sæffa*, etc. Cp. first element suggested for *Sawick* above. D. B. has *Sevesbi* (Leics.), 232*b* ; *Sevewelle* (Oxon.), 156*b*, and a curious name *Sevacoorde* (Berks.), 58*b*. The Rev. John Sephton takes quite a different view in his article in Otia Merseiana, vol. iv. See also Harrison (L'pool District Pl. Ns.), who suggests O. N. *sef*, 'sedge,' for the first element.

Selside, Top o' (Hawks.)

1227. Sellesec : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 36. (*c* written or printed by mistake for *t* ?).

'The seat of Selwa.' The suffix in the Cal. Ch. Rll. form above is almost certainly a misreading for *-set*, O. E. *sæte*. In unstressed positions this element is confused with *side*, cp. *Barnside* above, from *Bernesette*, or with *head*, just as we get *Arnside* (q. v. above) for an earlier *Arnulvesheved*. As regards the pers. n. in the first syllable, Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 116,

gives *Selua* from D. B., which he takes to represent the O. West N. *Sölvi, Sölfi.* Cp. also under *Silverdale* below. If *sec* above does not represent M. E. *sēte*, then the first element may be the gen. of the name—*Selles*, and the second element may be O. E. *ecġ*, 'edge' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Shaw

c. 1260. Scahe (S. del) : Scar. Ch., 15, 264.
c. 1320. Schaw : Scar. Ch., 277, 53.
1327. Shagh (W. del) : Scar. Ch., 57, 278.

'The wood.' See O. E. *sċeaga* in Pt. II.

Shevington

1200-33. Shefinton : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 216.
1268-79. Shevinton : } Cockrsnd. Ch., { p. 517.
1292. Cheuington : } { p. 1113.
1322. Skeventon : Cal. Inq. A. q. D., p. 244.
1328. Shevyngton : L. F., ii. p. 72.
1347. Shevynton : L. F., ii. p. 125.

The pers. n. *Sċēāfa* occurs in *Widsiþ*, 32, as the name of a king of the Lombards. Here the form is English, though we cannot call it an English name. The name occurs further in the A.-S. Chron. (B. and C. texts), ann. 855, Plummer's Ed., p. 67, in the mythological pedigree of King Æðelwulf—'*Bedwig Sċēāfing* id est filius Noe, se wæs ġeboren on þære earce Noes' (!). Further, in Beowulf the ancestry of King Hrōþgar is derived from Sċyld *Sċēfing*. There is no evidence that the name was ever widely spread in England, but there are one or two pl. ns. in which it seems to be the first element—*Scevintone* (Shropsh.), D. B., 258*b*, 2; *Sceueleia* (Suff.), D. B., 287*a* and *b*. *Sciofingden*, C. D., i. p. 273 (822), is more doubtful, and the vowel in the first element may be a mutated form of a name in a different ablaut grade—**Sceufa-ing*—**Sciofing*. I take *Shevington* to represent an O. E. **Sċēāfantūn*.

Shireburn House (Ribchester)

13th c. { Shireburne, R. de : } Lanc. Ch., 354.
{ Shirburne : } 356.
1320-46. Shireburne, W. de : Wap. Sur., 52.

'Bright stream.' O. E. *sċīr*, 'bright,' is also the first element in *Shyreborne* (Durh.), Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. B. 3089, p. 366, also in *Shirburn* (Yorks.), ibid., ii. B. 3677, p. 429, Mod. Sherbourne. Wherever we find an early *sċīr-* in the Nth. and Midlands it must have this origin. In W. S. territory *-sċir* in O. E. might represent *sċier-* connected with *sċieran*, non.-W. S. *sċeran*, 'divide.'

Sholver

1202. Solhher : L. F., i. p. 21.
1278. Sholver : L. F., i. p. 154.
1291. Sholgher : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 390.

I cannot suggest any other explanation of the second element than O. E. *hærh*, etc., 'temple' (q. v. Pt. II.). The problem is, is the *-v-* developed out of *f*, which itself developed out of an earlier *-h-*, medially before a vowel—as the forms of 1202 and 1291 suggest; or did the first element originally contain *f* which was voiced between vowels as the 1278 form suggests? In other words, was the name **Sċeolfes hærh*, or simply **Sċeoles* or *Sċeolan hærh*? The O. E. pers. n. which corresponds most nearly is *Scula*, which is recorded by Searle as occurring several times in tenth century chs. in C. D. and Birch, and also in later sources. See the latter examples of the name in Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 124, from which it seems probable that the name was Scandinavian, or at any rate borne by Norsemen in England. According to G., *Skūli* is the O. N. form, *Scūle* being an Anglicised form. It is quite possible that the name may have been pronounced by Englishmen as *Scēōl-*, M. E. *Shol-*. B. cites the pl. n. *Sculthorpe* (Norf.) as containing the name, and to this we may add *Sculcoates* (Yorks.), which is *Sculcotes*, K.'s Inq., p. 79, and *Skulcotes*, Knts.' Fees in K.'s Inq., p. 261.

The interesting point in the form *Sholver*, if the first element be really *Sċēōl-*, etc., is the 'labialiasation' of a medial *h*, which is in reality the initial of the second element. It should be mentioned that a form *Scolfstona* (Yorks.) occurs in D. B., 326, 2, but I have no other evidence of the existence of a pers. n. **Sċolf-*, M. E. **Sholf-*, or **Sholv-*.

Shorrock Green (Pleasington)

1283. Shorrok : Whall. Ch., p. 111.

The second element is perhaps O. E. *āc*, 'oak.' The material throws no light on the origin of the first element.

Shuttleworth

1227. Suttelesworth : L. F., i. p. 49.
1241. Shyotlesworth : L. F., i. p. 80.
1311. Shotlesworth : De Lac. Inq., p. 19.
1333. Shutelisword : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 313.
1343. Shotelisworth : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 329.
1377-78. Shutelesworth : L. F., iii. p. 56.

The first element must be a diminutive form of the O. E. pers. n. *Sċytta*, which Searle notes in the pl. n. *Scyttandun*, C. D., 123. A name **Sċyttel* is a very probable form, from earlier **Scuttil-*, diminutive of *Scott*. This seems to occur in *Scuttelhanger*, Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. No. B. 2873, p. 343, date 1334-35, now *Shutlanger* (Northants.). The *o* spellings above represent an *u*-sound. For the second element see *worþ* in Pt. II.

***Sidebight** or ***Sidbight**

1278. Sydebiht (manor of Rishton) : L. F., i. p. 156.
1637. Sidebight : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 102.

'Broad bay.' O. E. *sīd* and *byht*.

Silverdale (near Carnforth)

1241. Siuerdelege (bis) : L. F., i. p. 82.
1246. Selredal : L. F., i. p. 108.
1292. Celverdale : Plac. Q. Warr., 376*b*.
1346. Siluerdale : Wap. Lons. Sur., p. 82.
1382. Silverdale : L. F., iii. p. 15.
1508. L. F., iii. p. 163.

The 'dale of Siġeweard, or Sigwarð.' All the forms of this name which begin with *Silver-*, etc., are apparently due to a popular etymology, or to confusion with a gen. form *Selver-* of O. N. *Sölvi*, which see under *Selside*. The 1241 form above shows conclusively the real origin of the name as the 'dale' of *Siġeweard*. The normal Mod. form of the pers. n. is *Seward*, as it is found indeed in *Seward's Bridge* (Hants.), and *Sewardstone* (Essex). D. B., 278, has a form *Siwardingescotes* (Derb.) Mod. Yorks. *Sewerby* appears as *Siwardbi*, D. B., 86*b*, and *Seuerdby*, Knts.' Fees (K.'s Inq., p. 377), *Swardeby*, Knts,' Fees (K.'s Inq., p. 249), *Sywardby*, Nom. Vill. (K.'s Inq., p. 313). D. B. has also a Yorks. pl. n. *Siwartorp*, 29, not found at present time (Turner, Yorks. Pl. Names, p. 58).

The first element in *Silverley* in Cambs. is derived by Professor Skeat from O. E. *seolfor*, 'silver,' but I am inclined to think that here we have a popular etymology in all the forms which he quotes except that of D. B., which has *Severlai*. This looks very much like *severd* with the *d* omitted. I note that Professor Skeat mentions the Lancs. *Silverdale* as an instance of a pl. n. beginning with *Silver-* from O. E. *Seolfor-*. This name shows how misleading the Mod. forms of names are apt to be. In fact but for the accident of the preservation of the L. F. form, there

would be nothing to contradict the obvious explanation of the first element as 'silver.' (Though see remarks on pers. n. *Selua* under *Selside* above.) The O. E. pers. n. *Sigeweard* is of frequent occurrence, Searle has numerous examples of it from the chs. and other early sources. *Seuuard, Seuuardus, Sewardus. Siuerd, Siuerdus, Siuuard, Siuuardus* are forms of the same pers, n. recorded in D. B. as those of persons holding land previous to the Survey. See Ellis, Introd., ii. pp. 213, 215, 218. With regard to our name *Silverdale,* it may be noted that the earliest L. F. form has not *dal* but *lǣh* as the second element. See now also Björkman's remarks on the O. N. form *Sigwarð* (p. 118).

Simondstone

1259. Simondiston : Inq. of Hen. III., No. 418, p. 116.
1292. Simunston : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 111, No. 49.
? 1296. / 1333. Symondeston : Whal. Ch., T. v., p. 205. / 313.
1311. Symondston : / Symondstone : De Lac. Inq., p. 14.
1332. Symoundeston : Lay Subs. Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 106.

The first element is the O. E. pers. n. *Sigemund,* a name frequent in O. E., and common to most Germanic peoples.

D. B. has *Simondesberge,* 78 (Dors.) and *Simondeshale,* 163 (Glos.). Cp. also *Simonswood* below.

Simonswood

1206-07. de Simundeswude : L. P. R., 53, p. 217.
1228. / 1257. Simondeswod : Whall. Ch. Peramb. Lanc., p. 372. / L. Inq., p. 210.
1297. Symmondeswode : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 136, No. 51.
1372. Symondeswode : J. of Gaunt's Reg., i. p. 99.
1405-06. Symondeswode : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 196.

The 'wood of *Sigemund.*' See preceding name, and *wudu* in Pt. II. The first element has nothing to do with the Biblical *Simon.*

Singleton

1086. Singletun : D. B., 301*b*.
1094. (date genuine ?) Synglentonam : Ch. I., ii., L. P. R., p. 290.
1168-69. de Schingeltona : L. P. R., 15, p. 12.
1176-77. Singelton : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.

1189-93. Syngelton : Ch. III., ii., L. P. R., p. 299.
1200-01. Singelton : L. P. R., 47, p. 130.
1245. Singilton : Inq. of Hen. III., No. 41, p. 10.
?1270. Sengleton, A. de : Lanc. Ch., 25.

The first element must be a pers. n., though nothing at all corresponding to it is recorded by Rygh, Searle, or Björkman. One might suggest an O. N. **Singulfr.* For second element, see *tūn* in Pt. II.

Skelmersdale [skjəməzdə, S.]

TYPE I.

1202. Skelmaresden : L. F., i. p. 38.

TYPE II.

1086. Schelmeresdele : D. B., 170*a*.
1202. Skelmersdale : L. F., i. p. 38.
1321. Skelmardisdale : L. F., ii. p. 42.

'The devil's dale,' unless O. N. *Skelmir* be also used as a pers. n., for which I have found no evidence. Cp., however, such names as the Worcs. *Shugborough* or *Shuckburgh* from O. E. *Sċuccan burh* (Duignan), and perhaps *Dawlish* earlier *Doflisc=Deoflisc*. Cp. Napier and Stevenson's note, p. 63 of Crawf. Ch. It is curious that Mod. Yorks. *Skelmanthorpe*, which is *Skelmanthorp* in Nom. Vill. (cp. K.'s Inq., p. 363), as though from the pers. n. O. N. **Skalkmann* corresponding to the O. E. *Sċealcmann*, recorded by Searle, p. 410, should appear in D. B., 39, as *Scelmer-* in *Scelmertorp*, as though from the simple word *Skelm-*, with the O. N. gen. in *-ar*. (Turner, Yorks. Pl. Names, p. 66.)

It will be observed that the earliest form of *Skelmersdale* has *-den* as a second element. There can be no double that the Mod. family n. *Shelmerdine* goes back to this variant.

Bardsley (Engl. and Welsh Surnames) is unable to identify the place from which this name sprang, as he was unaware of the L. F. form of *Skelmersdale*. He, however, rightly assumes that *-dine=-den* and cites *Haseltine* from *Haselden*.

Skelwith [skɛləþ

1332. Skelwath, Adam de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 93.
1617. Skelwith, Michael Benson of : } Rich. Wills, p. 30.
1625. Scelleth, Mabel Benson of : }

'Shallow ford.' The earliest form shows that confusion took place at a later date betewen O. N. *vað*, 'wading place, ford,' and O. N. *viðr*, 'wood.' See both these words in Pt. II. The

loss of *w* is normal in an unstressed part of a compound, cp. p. 35, § 26 above, and the lack of stress would doubtless reduce the vowels of both to a common sound. The 1625 form is probably a very fair phonetic representation of the pronunciation. I take the primitive form of second element to be *vaðr*, 'ford.' The first element is probably a Norse pronunciation of the O. E. word *sċeald*, 'shallow,' though there is apparently no genuine O. N. equivalent of this word, the nearest being *skjalgr*, which has the meaning 'crooked.' The Cambs. *Shelford* has precisely the same meaning as *Skelwith*, and Skeat (Cambs. Pl. Names, p. 62) records such early forms as *Sceldford*, *Sceldeford*. There are several *Shalfords*, all of this origin, in the country. Skeat refers to the forms *Scealdeforda*, *Sceldeforda*, in C. D., iv. 157 (ann. 1062). Cp. also *Schaldeford* (thirteenth century) for Mod. Staffs., Shallowford (Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Names, p. 133).

Skerton [skīətn]

1094. (date genuine ?) Escartonam Ch. I., ii., L. P. R., p. 290.
12th c. Scarton : Lanc. Ch., p. 13.
1202. } Skerton : { L. P. R., 49, p. 164.
1216-22. } { L. Inq. p. 123.
1222-26. { Scertone : } L. Inq., p. 123.
{ Scherton : } 124.
1227. Scherton : Pipe Roll. Hen. III., L. Inq. p. 140 (also in R. S., vol. 27).
1292. Skereton : L. F., i. p. 175.
1324. Skirton : Orig. Rlls., 275*b*.

From O. N. *Sker*, 'rock,' and O. E. *tūn*, enclosure,' etc. See both elements in Pt. II.

Skippool Bridge (Poulton)

1330. Skippoles : Lanc. Ch., 471.
1670. Skippoole, Robt. Barton of : Rich. Wills. p. 23.

Slyne (sl*a*in)

1086. Sline : D. B., 301*b*.
1094. (date genuine ?) Asselinas : Ch. I., ii., L. P. R., p. 290.
1176-77. de Slina : L. P. R., 13, p. 35.
1184-85. de Slin : L. P. R., 31, p. 56.
1222-26. Scline : L. Inq., p. 127.
1246-48. } Slene : { L. Inq., p. 169.
1292. } { L. F., i. p. 167.
1310. Scline : L. F., ii. p. 3.

1324. de Slyne : L. C. R., p. 92.
1374. de Slene : L. F., ii. p. 187.
1519-20. Sleyne : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 20.

Cp. *Scleneforde*, D. B., 303*b*, 2; *Slindone*, D. B., *Slindon* (Staffs., see Duignan).

Smallshaw (Ashton-on-Lyne)

1366. Smalshagh, Godith de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 118.

'Narrow wood.' O. E. *smæl*, 'narrow,' and *sċeaga*, 'wood' (q. v. Pt. II.).

Smedley

O. E. *smēðe lēah*, 'smooth field.' See both words in Pt. II.

Smithdown (Road)

Type I.

1086. Esmedune : D. B., 1*a*, 22.
1288. Smethesdune : Cl. Rll. 12 Hen. III., Rolls Ser., p. 101, and L. Inq., p. 21.
1297. Smitheden : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 136, No. 51.
1298. Smetheden : L. Inq., p. 288.
1301. Smethedon :
1396. Smethdon Hundr. : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 193.
1655-56. Smethden : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 98.

Type II.

1184-85. / 1205-06. Smededon : L. P. R., 31, p. 56. / L. P. R., 52, p. 204.
1212. Smeddon : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 21.

'Smooth or flat down.' The now old-fashioned pronunciation (smɛdn) is perfectly normal from such a type as *Smēðdūn*, and shows shortening of *ē* before *-ð-* and the assimilation of this combination to *(d)d*, exactly comparable to *Sutton* from *Sūþtūn*. The usual Mod. pronunciation (smiþdaun) is from the old type *Smēðedūn*, and shows probably a confusion of the unfamiliar first element *smēð-* Mod. (smīð) with 'smith.' Cp. the same change in *Smithells*.

Smithhills (Dean Parish, Salford)

1505. Smythehill : L. F., iii. p. 158.
1505. Smethehylls : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 10.
1531. Smethellys : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 25.

'Smooth hills.' See remarks on first element under *Smithdown* above and under *smēðe* in Pt. II.

Snape and **Snape Green** (Ormskirk)

c. 1260. } Snape : { Scar. Ch., 16, p. 264.
1303. } Snape : { Scar. Ch., 45, p. 274.
1511-12. } Snape : { Duc. Lanc., i. p. 3.

'Pasture.' See M. E. *Snāpe* in Pt. II.

Snellshow

1294. Snelleshowe : De Lac. Comp., p. 14.
1311. Snelleshow : De Lanc. Inq., p. 18.
1339. Snelleshow : Whall. Ch., T. v., p. 276.
1617-18. Snelsve House : Duc. Lanc., p. 79.

'The how or hill of Snell.' This is a very common Scand. pers. n., see Björkman's N. Pn. in Eng., pp. 125, 126. On the other hand the name was also English, and B. quotes such pl. ns. as *Snellesham, Snellescumb, Snelleshlinc* from C. D. to show this. In these names, the second elements are genuine and unmistakable English words. I see no reason for assuming *Snell-* to be Scand. in *Snellshow*, where *how*>*hōȝe* is a genuine O. E. word. Cp. *Snelleshale*, Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. No. C, 2087, p. 480, *Snelsham* (Bucks.) ; *Sneleshunt* (Lincs.), D. B., 353*b*, 2 ; *Snellestune* (Derby), D. B., 273, 2. The first element in *Snellewelle* (Cambs.), D. B., 199, 2. Mod. *Snailwell* is O. E. *Sneġel-*. Cp. Skeat, Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 37, who points out that the D. B. spelling in this case is misleading, as other M. E. documents have *Sneylwelle*, etc.

Snodworth (Clith)

1242-43. Snodiswrth : Scut. of Gasc., L. Inq., p. 150.
1332. Snoddesworth, R. de : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 81.

Both *Snodd* and *Snodda*, evidently O. E. pers. ns., appear as first elements of pl. ns. in O. E. *Snoddesbyri*, C. D., 570 ; and *Snoddanfleot*, C. D., 1196 (see Searle) ; *Snodesbyrie* (Worcs.) appears also in D. B., 174*b*, 2 ; *Snodhull* (Heref.), Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. B. 3366, p. 395, Mod. *Snodhill*. The weak form of the pers. n. appears in the D. B. *Snodintone*, 45*b*, 2 (Hants.).

Soutergate (Ulverston)

1332. Soutergate : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 92.

'Shoemaker's gate.' Cp. O. N. *sūtari*, M. E. *soutare*. It is possible that *gate* here is O. N. *gata*, 'way, path,' which see under O. E. *ġeat*, 'gate,' in Pt. II.

***Souterthwaite** (Hawkshead)

1629-30. Southerthwaite : Duc. Lanc., i. 93.

I can make no other suggestion regarding the first element than that it may be O. N. *sūtari*, 'shoemaker,' as in *Soutergate* above.

Southworth

1212. Suthewrthe : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 78.
1300. Sotheworth : L. F., i. p. 189.
1326. Sotheworth, de : / Suthworth : } L. F., ii. p. 62.
1346. Sotheworth : Wap. Lons. Sur., p. 66. / Wap. Sur., p. 36.
1350. Sudworth : Feod Mil., cit. Baines, iv. 760.

Sowerby (St. Michael-le-Wyre par.)

1086. Sorbi : D. B., 301*b*.
1256. / 1292. Soureby : L. F., i. p. 128. / Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1497. Sawrby : L. F., ii. p. 146.

Speke

1086. Spec : D. B., 1*a*, 25.
1340. Speek : L. F., ii. p. 113.
1509. Speake : L. F., iii. p. 167.

'Swine pastures?' The O. E. word *spic* means 'bacon, land,' etc. This word, or one identical with it in form, occurs in several O. E. pl. ns., e.g. *Holan-spic*, C. D., i. pp. 115, 137, etc. Kemble, C. D., iii. p. xxxvii, suggests that it may refer to places where swine were fed. Cp. B.-T. and Harrison, L'pool District Pl. Ns., p. 65. This is purely conjectural, and does not seem probable. If *Speke* is to be derived from this element, which I doubt, we must assume a dat. pl. *spicum*, Merc. **speocum*, whence *specum*, M. E. *spēke*(*n*). I find it as difficult to believe that the name has anything to do with O. E. *sp*(*r*)*ecan*, 'speak,' which is suggested by Harrison as an alternative. These uncompounded names are very difficult.

Spellow

1306. de Spellowe : L. F., i. p. 208.
1321. de Spellawe : L. F., ii. p. 45.

'Spell's burial mound.' I cannot find any record of an O. E.

pers. n. *Spell*, or *Spella*, occurring independently, but cp. *Spelesberie* (Warwcs.), D. B., 283*b*. Yorks. *Spaldington* appears in D. B. as *Spellinton* (Index of K.'s Inq.), but this may be merely a bad spelling, as in K.'s Inq. itself, p. 83, etc., the name is spelt as at present. The second element is O. E. *hlǣw*, *hlāw*, q. v. in Pt. II.

Spotland

1299. Spotland : L. F., i. p. 188.
1311. Spotland : De Lac. Inq., 20.

The pers. n. *Spot* is not well authenticated. A female name *Spothild* is also mentioned by Searle, quoted without any reference to documents, from Förstemann.

Stainall

1176-77. (de) Steinoia : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1200-01. Stanhol : Staynhole : L. P. R., 47, p. 130. Lanc. Ch., p. 355.
1249. 1257. Staynole : L. Inq., p. 172. p. 210.
1256. Staynol : Lanc. Ch., p. 53.
13th c. Staynhol : Lanc. Ch., p. 357 .
1297. Stainel : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 137, No. 51.
1324. Staynolf : L. C. R., p. 115.
1320-46. Staynolfe : Wap. Amond. Sur., p. 56.

'Steinn's halh,' or 'the stone halh.' The O. N. pers. n. *Steinn* is mentioned by Björkmann, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 129, with various examples of its occurrence in English documents. For the second element, see *halh* in Pt. II. and cp. a similar variety of forms to those above under *Greenhalgh*.

The pers. n. seems also to occur in *Steinesberne* (Leics.), Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. B. 2275, p. 284 (thirteenth century), in *Steinesbi* (Derby), D. B., 293*b*. Cp. also Yorks. *Stainsby*, which has a similar form in D. B., 15, etc., and *Steintun* (Yorks.), D. B., 305, *Stancil* (Yorks.), which in D. B., 78*b* is *Steineshall*, etc., etc.

Staining (Blackpool)

1297. Stenenge : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 137, No. 51.
1298. Stayninges : Steyninges : Lanc. Ch., p. 70. p. 85.
1320-46. Stayninge : Wap. Amond. Sur., 54.

'Stony ing, or field.' The first element is O. N. *steinn*, 'stone,'

and the suffix is *ing*, 'field.' The earliest form above represents probably an O. N. *eng*. See first element under O. E. *stān*, and *ing* in Pt. II.

Stainton (Dalton)

1256. Steynton : L. F., i. p. 124.
1292. Stenton : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.

'Steinn's tūn.' For first element, see preceding name. See *tūn* in Pt. II.

Stalmine [stɔ̄min]

1086. Stalmin : D. B., 301*b*.
1212. Stalmin : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 47.
1235. Staleminne : L. F., i. p. 68.
1256. Stalmin : L. F., i. p. 120.
1262. Stalmyn : L. F., i. p. 135.
1292. Stalemyn : / Stalmyne : } Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.

'The place at the meeting of two roads or rivers.' See O. E. *steall*, and O. N. *minni* in Pt. II.

***Stanbury** (= Ashton-under-Lyne)

1094. apud Estaneberian : Ch. v., ii., L. P. R., p. 290.

'Stone town.' See O. E. *stān* and *burg* in Pt. II.

Standen

1294. Standen : De Lac. Comp., p. 14.
1311. Standene : De Lac. Inq., p. 5.

'Stone valley.' See O. E. *stān*, and *denu* in Pt. II.

Standish

1177-78. Stanesdis : L. P. R., 24, p. 38.
1180-95. / 1206. } Stanedis : { Ch. IV., XVII. (Twnley MS. Brit. Mus.), L. P. R., p. 411. L. F., i. p. 24.
1211-13. Stanedich : L. P. R., p. 247.
1294. Stanedisse : De Lac. Comp., p. 10.
1304. Standigh : L. F., i. p. 203.
1332. Standissh : L. F., ii. p. 89.

'Stony pasture.' I take the second element to be O. E. *edisċ* 'pasture, park, warren.' Professor Skeat in Beds. Pl. Ns., pp. 12, 13, takes the suffix of Beds. *Farndish* to be O. E. *disċ*,

'dish, cup, hollow, concave place in a field.' The forms which S. gives of the Beds. name show pretty much the same variety in the suffix, as do those of *Standish* above. A form *Farnedissh* occurs Plac. Q. Warr., 18, which S. has not included. Some of the forms of both names point to *disċ*, as the suffix, others to *diċ*, 'ditch,' others are reconcilable either with *ediśc* or *disċ*.

Stanworth

1258. Stanword : Whall. Ch., p. 179.
1329. Stanword : Whall. Ch., p. 268.
1478. Standworth : Whall. Ch., p. 336.

See both elements in Pt. II.

Stapleton-Terne

1086. Stopeltierne : D. B., 301*b*.

1094. { Stapiturnam : / Stapelton tarne : } Lanc. Ch., 10.

O. E. *stapol* means 'pillar, column.' Therefore *Stapleton* must be the 'enclosure with the pillar.' Tarn is a small lake. See this under O. N. *tjorn, tjörn*, in Pt. II. There are many pl. ns. containing *Stapol* in England—e.g. *Stanestaple* (Middles.), D. B., 128 ; *Staplebrige* (Dors.), D. B., 78 ; *Stapleford* (Chesh.), D. B., 267, 2, etc., etc. The pillar or column referred to in these names was no doubt a land or boundary mark.

Steerspool (Barrow-in-Furness)

1235. Styrespol : L. F., i. p. 59.

Obviously the 'pool of *Stir*, or *Ster*.' Cp. *Stirzaker* below. The pers. n. *Ster* occurs in D. B., 361, 6, as that of a person holding land in Lincs. previous to the Survey, and that of *Sterr*, D. B., 298, as a landholder in Yorks. at the same period (Ellis, Introd., p. 229). The name *Stir* is cited by Searle from Fl. of Worcs. as the major domus of Harthacnut, c. 1040. The name *Stir*, or *Ster* as that of a person is thus well established. The name occurs also in other pl. ns.—*Stearsby* in Yorks. is *Steresby* in Knts.' Fees, K.'s Inq., p. 324, *Sterisby*, K.'s Inq., p. 108 ; and *Stirsbi* in D. B., 85 (Turner's Yorks. Pl. Names, p. 141). *Stirestorp* also occurs, D. B., 47*b* (Turner, p. 73). Cp. also *Steresburgh*, Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. 500 (ann. 1404), *Sterborough*, Survey. *Steerspool* is another example of 'pool' (O. E. *pōl*, etc., q. v. Pt. II.) with a pers. n. in front of it as in *Liverpool* and *Otterspool*, q. v.

Stephen's Head (Nelson)

c. 1350. Littelsteudensete: Forest Proceedings (Exch. T. R.) Lancaster, No. 59 (cit. L. P. R., p. 426.)

Date ?. Steuensete: Perambulation in Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 559, f. 51 (cit. L. P. R., p. 427).

The fourteenth century forms show that the original name was 'Stephen's Seat.' This is another example of the confusion of unstressed second elements, such as we have in *Cadishead*, earlier *Cadwalles-sēte*.

Stirzacre (township, Catterall)

1332. Steresacre: Lay Subs. Lanc and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 94.
1342. Stiresacre: L. F., ii. p. 114.
1443. Styresacre: L. F., iii. p. 108.
1641. Sturzaker: Duc. Lanc., p. 105.

'The acre' of a person called *Stir* or *Ster*. See O. E. *æcer* in Pt. II., and the pers. n. under *Steerspool* above.

Stodday [stodə]

Type I.

1190-1240. Stodhae (place and persons) passim: Cockrsnd. Ch., pp. 805-13.
1190-1220. Stodhaih (Willelmo de): Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 807.
1427., 1440., 1440. Stoday: L. F., iii. p. 94; L. F., iii. p. 105; L. F., iii. p. 114.

Type II.

1255. Stodhag(h): L. Inq., p. 199.
1301. Stodhagh: L. F., i. p. 214.
1325. Stodagh: L. C. R., pp. 134, 135.
1354. Stodagh: L. F., ii. p. 141.
1496. Stodagh (Laurence): L. F., iii. p. 146.

Type III.

13th c. Stodale: Lancs. Ch., 39.

This name means 'an enclosed, or fenced field for a stud of horses.' See O. E. *stōd*, 'stud' in Pt. II., and the word *haga* and *hæġ*. The early forms of the name show that either of the two latter forms was used indifferently.

The word *stōd* occurs in other English pl. ns. besides the old forms mentioned under it in Pt. II. Thus *Studham*, O. E. *Stōdham* is found in Herts. (Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns.); *Stodden*, 'stud valley,' and *Stodstoke* in Beds. (Skeat. Beds. Pl. Ns.);

Studham in Beds. is *Stodham*, Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. 456 (1361). See other forms, Skeat, loc cit., p. 26.

Strangeways (near Cheetham, Manchester)

1326. Strangwas, Th. de : Abbrev. Plac., p. 355.
1424. Strangways, James : Cat. Anc. Dds., vol. ii. p. 238, No. B 1860.
1527. Strangewaies in Chetham : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 87.

The suffix is probably originally O. E. *wæsċ* or *ġewæsċ*, 'washing up' or 'overflow of water' (B.-T.). O. E. **wæs*, assumed by Jellinghaus in Anglia, xx. p. 326, as the origin of names ending in *-was—Broadwas*, *Hopwas*, etc., is not found. In any case **wæs*, *wæsċ*, and *wæter* are all related. The forms of 1424, and 1527, and the Mod. form show a complete change of suffix—probably a popular etymology. The first element may originally have been O. E. *strang*, 'strong,' but this has also been changed by popular etymology to (*streindž*.)

Stretford

1278. Stretford : L. F., i. p. 155.
1292. Stratford : Plac. Q. Warr., p. 386.
1304. Stretford : Orig. Rlls., p. 137.
1500. Stretford : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 14.
1601. Streitford : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 69.

Stratford and *Stretford* are common pl. ns. in England. See O. E. *strǣt*, 'street, paved road,' and *ford* in Pt. II. The meaning is simply 'the ford crossed by a street.' Duignan (Worcs. Pl. Ns., p. 157) with reference to *Stratford* in Worcs. says, 'the road here crosses a small stream.' This may have been the case with the Lancs. *Stretford*.

Subberthwaite

1597. Soberthat, Joh. Kirkbie of : Rich. Wills, p. 175.
1664. Suberthwaite, Agnes Besbrowne of : Rich. Wills, p. 31.

There is a *Sowber Hill* in Yorks., the D. B. form of which is *Solberge*, and which appears as *Solbergh*, K.'s Inq., p. 176.

This may be the same word as the prefix of *Subberthwaite*. *Solberg* means 'miry, marshy hill'—O. E. *sōl*, 'mire, miry place,' and *beorg*, q. v. in Pt. II. *Souldrop* in Beds. means 'miry thorpe, or village' (Skeat, Beds. Pl. Ns.). Duignan identifies the first element in the Worcs. *Solhampton* with O. E. *sōl*. The loss of *l*, and consequent diphthongisation of the preceding vowel is fairly common (cp. p. 33, § 14 (6) ante), and this stage appears to be represented in the Yorks. name cited above. The Lancs. name

has undergone a shortening of the vowel, due, perhaps, to an early assimilation of *lb* to *bb*. The precise development of the form is not clear. For the meaning of *thwaite*, see *þweit* in Pt. II.

Sudden (Castleton)

1329. Sudden : Whall. Ch., T. v. pp. 271, 273.

The above form sheds no fresh light. I am inclined to suppose that the name means 'south dene' from an O. E. **Sūðdene*. For the vowel shortening see remarks under *Sutton* below. The name *Suðdene* is found in a Ch. dated 930, C. D., iii. p. 433.

Sutton

Sutton in Ch. II., xvii., L. P. R., p. 407, is hardly a plausible form for date of original ch. (1160-80). The version given by F. is from a seventeenth century copy.

1292. Sutton : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.

Most, if not all, *Suttons* in the country go back to *Suþtūn*, 'South town.' Cp. Harrison on the Chesh. *Sutton* (L'pool District Pl. Ns.), Duignan on those in Worcs. (Pl. Ns., p. 158), Skeat on those in Cambs. (Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 13), and in Hunts. (Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 55). D. B. has also *Sudtun* for the various Yorks. *Suttons*. For loss of *þ* (*th*) before another cons., see p. 32, § 19*b*. above. The vowel of *Sūþ* was shortened before the combination *þt* in any case (cp. p. 25, § 9 (4) above), but here the combination *þt* may have become *tt*, a double consonant, before the vowel shortening, and a double consonant had also the same effect of shortening the preceding vowel.

Swainshead (Wyresdale)

1086. Suenesat : D. B., 301*b*.
1561-62. Swyneshede : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 44.

The D. B. form points to an earlier *Sveines* or *Sweǥenes sāte*, 'The seat of Swain.' For another example of confusion of 'seat' as a second element with 'head,' cp. the early forms of *Cadishead* above. The Yorks. *Swineside* has also *sete* as its second element, cp. *Swinesate*, Inq. Hen. III., No. 743. The Norse diphthong *ei* was written *eǥ* in O. E., and this very pers. n. appears in the Laud Chronicle, ann. 1049, as *Sweǥen*. See now copious examples of this pers. n. in England in Björkman's N. Pn. in Engl., p. 139. B. points out that the form *swēn* instead of *swein* is East Norse. On the other hand, as he says,

in England, it may represent a form with loss of the *ġ*, from the English form *Sweġ(e)n*. Cp. O. E. *rēn*, *þēn* for *reġn*, *þeġn*. The name occurs also in various English pl. ns. B. rightly cites *Swenebrōk*, which is the Oxfordsh. *Swinbrook*, and *Swenesford*= *Swinford*. The spelling of the Mod. Lancs, name would represent the Engl. type *Sweġen*. The D. B. form, whatever its origin, would have produced (swīnzed). The Duc. Lanc. spelling shows confusion with O. E. *Swīn*, 'swine,' such as we have in Mod. Oxf. *Swinbrook*.

Swarbrick

1249. Svartebrec : L. Inq., p. 172.
1286. Swartebreke : L. Inq., p. 265.

'Black slope.' The first element may be either O. E. *sweart*, or O. N. *svartr*, 'black.' See *brekka* in Pt. II.

Swinden (Manor in Great Marsden, Whalley)

1233. Swinden : Cl. Rlls., iv. 297.
1472. Swynden : L. F., iii. p. 92.

'Swine valley.'

***Swinebrigg** (=Bowgrave Bridge, Garstang. Cf. Farrer, L. P. R., p. 348)

1189-94. Suinebrigg : Ch. I., x., L. P. R., p. 346.

Swinton

13th c. / 1292. } Swynton : { Whall. Ch., T. iv. p. 165. / Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.

'Swine enclosure.'

T

Tarbock

TYPE I.

1086. Torboc : D. B., 269*b*.
1190. Tarboc : Scar. Ch., 12. 263.
1242. Thorboc : Scut. of Gasc., L. Inq., p. 148.
1252. Thorebok : Lanc. Ch., 34.
1257. { Torboc : / Turreboc : } Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 474.
1292. Turbok : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1324. Terbok : L. F., ii. p. 58.
1354. Torbok : L. F., ii. p. 139.
1613. Tarbock : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 85.

TYPE II.

1311. Talbok : De Lac. Inq., p. 24.

The first element is probably the Norse female name *þōra*, from which Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 254, gives numerous derivatives—e.g. *Toreby*, *Taarset*, *Torlveit* (*poraþveit*), *Torset*, *Tornes*, *Torsted*, etc.

Tarleton

1530. Tarleton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 26.

The 'tūn of *þorvaldr*' (O. N.). See preceding name. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 255, says that *þōraldr*, of which the full form was *þōrvaldr*, was a man's name of frequent occurrence. Of pl. ns. derived from it he cites, among others—*Taraldrud Taraldsvik*, and *Tarlebö*, where the contraction is similar to that in *Tarleton* and *Tarlscough*. The development of the Lancs. names must have been *þarald- þarald-*, *þaral-*, *þarel-*, *Tarel-*. See this name, with a different development in *Torrisholm* below. Cp. remarks of Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., under *Thorel*, p. 150, *þurold*, etc., p. 160.

Tarlscough (Rufford)

1189-96. Tharlescogh : Ch. I., xi., L. P. R., p. 350.

Probably 'the wood of *Thorvaldr*.' See remarks on this pers. n. under *Tarleton* and *Torrisholm*. For the second element see O. N. *skōgr*, 'wood,' in Pt. II.

Tarnacre (Garstang)

1596. Tarnaker : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 64.

1630. Tarniker : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 91.

1685-89. Tornacre : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 38.

'The field with the tarn.' See O. N. *tjorn*, *tjörn*, and O. E. *æcer*, Pt. II.

Tatham

1202. Tateham : L. F., i. p. 38.

1213-15. Tathaim : L. P. R., 61, p. 249.

Early 13th c. Tathaym : Lanc. Ch., p. 306.

1241. Tatham : L. F., i. p. 91.

1463. Tateham : L. F., iii. p. 131.

1467. Tatam : L. F., iii. p. 133.

Tata is an O. E. pers. n. of which numerous instances are found. Cp. Searle, who mentions also a local *Tatanbeorh*, C. D., 366. Cp. the strong form of this pers. n. in *Tateshale*, Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. B. 3805, p. 442. The spellings of the early forms above show alternation of O. N. *heim* with O. E. *hām* in the second element.

Thingwall

1176-77. de Tingwella : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1228. Tyngewelle : Whall. Ch., Peramb. Lanc., p. 372.
Thingwell : Peramb. Forest, Ch. II., xix., L. P. R., p. 421.
1297. Thingwelle : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 136, No. 51.
1320-46. Thingewall : Wap. W. Der. Survey, 30.

The 'well of *þengill*.' This name appears to be Icelandic, and is not much used as a pers. n. in Norway (Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 246). R., however, mentions several N. pl. ns. which contain this element—*Tingulstad*, *Tingstad* (which shows a contraction similar to that of the Lancs. n.), *Tengstveit*, *Tengesdal*, etc. See *well*, etc., in Pt. II. The 1320-46 form above shows the confusion of the second element with *-wall*, which we found in *Childwall*, *Aspinall*, etc.

(A quite different interpretation from above might be surmised if the early forms did not appear to be against it, namely O. N. *þingvöllr*, lit. 'parliament-field,' the place where the 'thing' or council sat. Cp. *þingvöllr* in Cleasby-Vigf.)

Thistleton

1219. Thistleton : L. F., i. p. 42.
Thwisilton : T. de N., p. 399.
1292. Thistleton : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1332. Thistelton : L. F., ii. p. 88.
1467. Thystylton : L. F., iii. p. 133.

Thorburnshead

13th c. Thorebrandesheved : Lanc. Ch., 19 (five times).
Thorebrondesheved : Lanc. Ch., p. 223 (twice).

'The height or head of *Thorbrand*.' This O. N. name was borne by many Norsemen in this country. See examples of it in Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 155.

Thornley (par. of Chipping)

1202. Thorenteleg : L. F., i. p. 10.
1262. Thornedelegh : L. F., i. p. 137.
1289. Thornedeley (three times) : Plac. Abbrev., p. 219.
1611-12. Thornley : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 75.

The first element is the pers. n. *Thoran*, cp. the following name (1). The spellings of all the early forms are rather peculiar, and those of the forms of 1262, 1289 suggest a different prefix,

though I cannot give a satisfactory explanation of them. By the seventeenth century, doubtless, the first element was felt as meaning 'thorn tree.'

1. **Thornton** (in Amounderness)

1086. Torenton : D. B., 301*b*.
1245. Thorenton : L. F., i. p. 92.
1246. de Thorinton : L. F., i. p. 103.
1258. Thorinton : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 110, No. 406.
1316. Thornton : L. F., iii. p. 22.

2. **Thornton** (Sefton par.)

1246. Thorneton : L. F., i. p. 104.
1249.} Thornton : {L. F., i. p. 109.
1303.} {201.
1320-46. Thorneton : Wap. Sur., 32.
1379.} Thorneton (par Sefton) : {L. F., iii. p. 6.
1380.} {L. F., iii. p. 8.

If the two places be really properly distinguished in the above forms, there can be no doubt that the first contains the O. N. pers. n. *Thoran*, etc., which see in Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 147. The early forms of the second *Thornton* point rather to the O. E. *þorn*, 'thorn tree' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Thorpinlees

1228. Thorpincoles : Whall. Ch., Per. Lanc., 371.

The first element is evidently the O. N. Pers. n. *Thorfinnr*, which appears in England in various forms—*Torphin*, *Thurfin*, etc. Cp. Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 156. The suffix in the present-day pl. n. probably represents O. E. *lǣs*, 'meadow,' which has nothing whatever to do with O. E. *lēāh*, *lǣh*, though in its Mod. form it is often mistaken for the pl. of *lea*, *leeh*, etc. I cannot account for *-coles* in the 1228 form, unless it is a misspelling on somebody's part—scribe or editor—for *-cotes*, in which case there is no difficulty.

Threlfall (Bibsboro'?)

1086. Trelefelt : D. B., 301*b*.
1685-89. Threlsfall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 39.

'þorelf's field.' The first element is the O. N. pers. n. *þorelf*. cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 57. This is found in the Norw. pl. n. *þorelforrud*, *þorelfuorgardr* (Rygh, p. 257). The D. B. form shows that the suffix was originally O. E. *feld*, 'field.' The later forms show an alteration of this to *fall*.

Thurnham (Lancaster)

1086. Tiernum : D. B., 301*b*.
1254. Thirnum : Lanc. Ch., 44.
1282. Thirnum : L. F., i. p. 158.
1292. {Thyrnum : / Thirnum :} Plac. Q. Warr., 374*b* and 379*b*.
1518-19. Thurnam maner : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 21.
1587. Thurnehame maner : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 50.

'Thorn tree meadow, or ham'? The early forms appear to go back to the O. E. mutated form *þyrne*, 'thorn tree.' The suffix in the earliest forms may either be the dat. pl. suffix *-um*, or, more likely, I think, O. E. *homm* (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Thursden (Nelson)

1324. Thirsedeneheved : Plac. Abbrev., p. 347.

'Giant's valley.' The early form makes it pretty certain that the first element is O. E. *þyrs*, 'giant,' and not any pers. n. connected with *Thor* as one might have imagined from the Mod. spelling. The early form refers to the 'head' of the 'dene.' Such mythological elements in pl. ns. are not uncommon, though there are few in Lanc. Cp. such names as *Dwarradale*, from O. E. *dweorgadæl*, 'dwarves' dale,' and the family name *Dwerryhouse* from *dwergahūs*, 'dwarves' house.'

Thurstan Water (Coniston Lake)

1154-63. Turstini watra : Ch. IX., iv., L. P. R., p. 311.
1196. Thurstaine water : L. F., pp. 4 and 5 (four times).

The 'water of *þōrstein*,' a widespread man's name in Scandinavia from the earliest times to the present day. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 263. R. quotes several pl. ns. containing this element—e.g. *þostæinsstbrond*, *Torsteinsvik*, etc. D. B. has several pl. ns. compounded with this name, e.g. *Turstanestone* (Leics.), 235 ; *Turstanetone* (Chesh.), 264*b*, 2, etc.

The second form above actually presevres the O. N. *ai* in *-stain-*.

That the name was still used as a pers. n. in Lancs. in the thirteenth century appears e.g. from the name *Thurstan de Holand* (thirteenth century), Chorley Documents, Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh., 1889, p. 213.

See numerous examples of its occurrence in this country in Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 161.

Tilberthwaite

1157-63. Tillesburc : Ch. IX., iv., L. P. R., p. 311.

1196. Tildesburgthwait : L. F., pp. 4 and 5.

Cp. *Tildesburgethwaite* in Furn. Ch., p. 16, n. (This is apparently the form in the MS. which the Editor has been good enough to 'correct' in the text. This is the genuine form, inasmuch as it is the fullest and most primitive.) The 'corrected' form is that given by Farrer.

1695. Tiberthwaite in Marsh's map in the Ed. of Camden of this year.

'The thwaite of **Tildburg*.' I cannot find any old pers. n., Norse or English, which exactly answers to this. Cp., however, *Tidburga uxor Warbaldi*, Birch. Ch., No. 206. See *þveit* in Pt. II.

Tockholes

1285. Tokholes : Whall. Ch., T. iii. p. 111 or 116.

1294. Tockholes : De Lac. Comp., p. 14.

1311. Tokholes : De Lac. Inq., 15.

1497. Tocholes : L. F., iii. p. 146.

The first element is probably the Norse pers. n. *Tōki*, which see also under *Toxteth* below. Rygh (Gamle Pers. N., pp. 252-3) gives *Tōki* and *Tōka* as a pers. n. which occurs in the names *Tokerud*, *Toketorp*, etc. *Tockwith* in Yorks. also contains this name (=the wood of *Tōki*'), which is written *Tokewyth* in the Knts.' Fees (K.'s Inq., p. 222, ante 1290), also *Toccesham*, Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. B. 3485, p. 409. The man's name itself was established in England before the Conquest for an *Askyl Tokes sune* signs a Ch. of Edw. Conf., 1060, cp. C. D., iv. p. 143. See now other examples of the occurrence of this name in England in Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 142.

Tonge

1227. Tonge, E. de : L. F., i. p. 52.

1285. { Toung : / Tong : } L. A. R., ii. pp. 198, 203.

1322. Twenge : Orig. Rlls., 270.

Perhaps from O. E. *tunge*, 'tongue,' also 'tongue-shaped thing,' here applied to a piece of land.

Toppinrays (Ulverston)

1606-07. Toppinraise, Eliz. Lindowe of : Rich. Wills, p. 184.

'The cairn of **Toppa*, or *Toppi*.' The former pers. n. is given by Searle in the forms *Topa*, *Tope* ; he also gives *Topp*, in the pl. n. *Toppesham*, C. D., 369. Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl. mentions *Toppi*, etc., as occurring in D. B., and takes

it to be a Scand. name. The second element is O. N. *hröysi*, Mod. Engl. Dial. *raise* (q. v. in Pt. II.)

Torrisholme [torisəm]

1086. Toredholme : D. B., 301*b*.
1200. Torolesham : L. P. R., 47, p. 132.
1201-02. Thaurrandeshal : L. P. R., 47, p. 152.
1205-06. Turoldesholm : L. P. R., 52, p. 205.
1206. Thoraldesholm : Lanc. Ch., 385.
1212. Thorouldesholm : Gt. Inq. Lanc. Inq., p. 4.
1225. Thorollhesserin : Lanc. Ch., 21.
Ante 1233. Thordesholm : L. F., p. 58.
Toroldesholm : T. de N., p. 410.
1277. Thorisholm : Lanc. Ch., 277.
1297. Thoresholme : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 137, No. 51.
1310. Thorisholme : L. F., ii. p. 6.
1324. Torisholm : Orig. Rlls., 275*b*.

The 'holm' or valley of *þoraldr*, earlier *þorvaldr*. For this pers. n., see *Tarlscough*, and *Tarleton* ante. See *hōlmr* in Pt. II. The name *Toroldesbi* (N. R. Yorks.) occurs D. B., 300, 2. This pers. n. appears as the basis of several pl. ns. in Yorks. *Thoraldeby*, K.'s Inq., 71, 274, 315, Mod. *Thoraldby* (E. R.), *Thoraldethorp*, K.'s Inq., Mod. *Tholthorpe*. In the latter name some confusion seems to have occurred, since D. B. has *Turoluestorp* and *Turulfestorp* from *þorulfr*. The forms *Torol*, *Turoldus*, *Turold* of the pers. n. occur as those of tenants in chief in D. B. Cp. Ellis, Introd., pp. 242, 246, 247. See now copious examples of *Thurold*, etc. in England, in Björkman, p. 160.

Torver

1202. Thorwerghe : L. F., i. p. 17.
1246. Thorfergh : L. F., i. p. 97.
Thorveregh : L. A. R. (Rll. 404), i. p. 42.
Torvergh : L. A. R. (Rll. 404), i. p. 44.

This name is peculiar in form, the only suggestion I can make is that the first element is *Thorulf*, and the second O. E. *hærh*, 'temple,' q. v. in Pt. II.

Tottington (Burnley)

1233. Totington : L. F., i. p. 145.
1274. Totynton : L. F., i. p. 152.
1292. Totinton : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b*.
Totyngton : Plac. Q. Warr., 387*b*.
1294. Totingtone : De Lac. Comp., p. 5.
1322. Totingdon : Orig. Rlls., 270*b*.
1400. Todyngton : Ministers' Accts., p. 16.

'The tūn of Totta,' or *Tota*. See examples of this pers. n. in Searle. He also cites the pl. n. *Tottanstoc*, C. D., 486.

Towneley

1328. Tounley : L. F., ii. p. 75.
1332. Tunlegh : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 51.
1381. Tounlay : L. F., iii. p. 11.

The field near the *tūn* or enclosure. See *tūn* and *lǣh* in Pt. II.

Toxteth

1086. Stochestede : D. B., 269*b*.
1206-07. Tokestat : L. P. R., 53, p. 217.
1212. Tokestath : Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 14.
1228. Toxstake : Ch. II., xix., L. P. R., p. 421.
1298. } Toxtath : { L. F., i. p. 185.
1315. } Toxtath : { L. F., ii. p. 21.
1535-43. Tokstaffe : Leland, v. p. 40.
1623-24. Foxteth alias Toxteth : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 88.

This seems to be a pure Norse name—*Tōki staðr*, the homestead or abode of *Tōki*. See this pers. n. under *Tockholes* above. The pl. n. *Tokstad* actually occurs in Norway in several districts. Cp. Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., pp. 252-53. For the second element see O. N. *staðr*, and O. E. *stede*, *stæþ* in Pt. II. *Tochebi* (Leics.) occurs, D. B., 230*b*, and *Tocbi* (W. R. Yorks.), 329*a*.

Trafford (Old) (Manchester)

1292. Trafford : Plac. Q. Warr., 386.
1304. Trafford : Orig. Rlls., 137.

The first element may be O. E. *trōh*, 'trough,' as is the case with the Chesh. *Trafford*, q. v. under *trōh* in Pt. II. See also *ford* in Pt. II. For another Lancs. pl. n. containing *trōh*, cp. *Trawden* below.

Trawden (Nelson)

1295. { Trochdene : } De Lac. Comp., { p. 20.
Trochden : } De Lac. Comp., { p. 23.
1305. Troudene : De Lac. Comp., p. 68.
1311. { Troudene : } De Lac. Inq., 11.
Troweden : } De Lac. Inq., 11.
1374. Troweden : J. of Gaunt's Reg., i. p. 233.
1624. Trodenforesta : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 86.

'Trough valley.' The first element is undoubtedly O. E. *trōh*, 'trough' (q. v. in Pt. II.). For the second element, see O. E. *denu* in Pt. II.

Treales [trɛlz. D]

1086. Treueles : D. B., 301*b*.

1205-06.
1219.
1228. } Treueles : { L. P. R., 52, p. 202.
L. F., i. p. 42.
Cl. Rlls., iii. 126.

1242-43. Turwel : Scut. of Gasc., L. Inq., p. 152.
1286. Trevell : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 91.
1320-46. Treweles : Wap. Amond. Sur., 54.
1637. Treales : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 95.

Trinkeld (Dalton)

1180. Hindekeld (=Trindekeld ?) Ch. I., xi., L. P. R., 353.
1295. Trandekeld : Pat. Rll. of Edw. II., cit. Farrer, L. P. R., p. 357, note.

'The spring of Thrōndr.'

The 1295 form is apparently reliable, and the first element in it bears a close resemblance to that in Norw. *Trandum*, for which Rygh (Norske Gdnavne., i. p. 22) gives such early forms as *i þrondæimi*, *Trondhiem*, etc., and later *Trandeim*. The O. N. pers. n. *Thrond* is quoted by Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in England, p. 153, from Fl. of Worcester, where it refers to Harthacnut's executioner.

The second element of *Trinkeld* is, of course, O. N. *Kelda* (q. v. Pt. II.)

Tulketh (part of Preston)

1252. Tulkid : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 406.
Temp. Eliz. Tookith : Duc. Lanc.

The first element may be a pers. n. like **Tulleca*, formed from *Tulla*, which is recorded by Searle. The second element is badly spelt in the early form, if the Mod. form preserves its original termination. Assuming this to be the case the suffix may have been O. E. *hæþ*, 'heath.'

Tunstall

1086. Tunestalle : D. B., 301*b*.
1202.
1227.
1236-56.
1245-48. } Tunstall : { L. F., i. p. 15.
Lanc. Ch., pp. 150, 181, 286.

1284.
1311. } Tunstall : { Orig. Rlls., 48*b* and 181*b*.

'The dwelling,' or 'hut in the enclosure.' See *tūn* and *steall* in Pt. II.

Turton (Darwen)

1257. Thurton : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 474.

1285. Turton : L. A. R., ii. p. 198.
1311. Turton (G. de) : Orig. Rll., 181*b*.
1498. Turton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 11.

The first element is almost certainly a shortened form of a Scand. pers. n. compounded with *þōr-*. Of these there is a large number, and it is of course impossible to say what the full name originally was. The second element is the familiar O. E. *tūn*.

Twiston

1296. Twyselton : Whall. Ch., p. 206.
1300. Twesilton : L. Inq., p. 306.
1302. Twyselton : L. F., i. p. 199.
1311. Twiselton : De Lac. Inq., p. 18.
1346. Twisilton (J. de) : Wap. Lons. Sur., p. 66.
1528. Twyston : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 141.

The first element is O. E. *twisla*, the fork of a river, or a road. See this word in Pt. II., likewise *tūn*.

Tyldesley [tinzli]

1292. Tyldesley : Plac. Q. Warr., 372*b*.
1301. Tildesleye : L. F., i. p. 197.
1322. Tildesle : Orig. Rlls., 270.
1357. Tildeslegh : L. F., ii. p. 151.

The early forms throw no fresh light on the origin of the first element, which is obviously a pers. n. Cp. perhaps the first element in *Tilberthwaite* above.

U

Ulnes Walton (Bretherton)

1284. Ulneswalton : L. A. R., ii. p. 191.
1320. Ulfneswalton : L. F., ii. p. 33.
1443. Ulneswalton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 2.
1519. Oneswalton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 25.

The Scand. pers. n. *Ulfr* is certainly the first element. The syllable *-nes-* must be a separate element, as it cannot possibly be the gen. case of the pers. n. The whole name looks as if it meant ' the foreigners' town ' on Ulf's ness ? See O. E. *næss* in Pt. II., and *Walton* below.

Ulverston [ūlstən]

1196. Olueston : L. F., i. p. 5.
1202. Vlveston : L . F., i. p. 10.
1230. Ulveston : Cl. Rlls., iii. p. 347.
1232. Vlueston : L. F., i. p. 143.
1266. Ulvreston : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 94.
1284. Uluerston : L. A. R., p. 178.

1292. Ulvestonam : Plac. Q. Warr., 371.
1302. Ulverestone : L. F., i. p. 199.
1306. Ulvereston : L. F., i. p. 209.
1311. Ulverston : L. F., ii. p. 7.
1346. Vluerston : Wap. Sur., 76.
1512. Ullerston : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 25.

'The tun of Ulfhere.' This pers. n. is recorded by Björkman, Nord. Pers. N. in Engl., p. 167, as occurring in D. B. in the form *Ulfar*, and in Norway as *Ulfarr*, by Rygh, Gamle Pers. N., p. 269, etc. It is a hybrid formation, the first element being typically Scand., while the second is English. It is in fact a partially 'Norsified' form of O. E. *Wulfhere*. Cp. also the pl. ns. *Ulferlan* (Heref.), D. B., 183*b*, 2; *Ulverlei*, D. B., 244, 2; *Ulvrestun* (W. R. Yorks.), D. B., 302.

***Unsworth** (near Salford ?)

1522. Undesworth : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 25.

Upholland

1320-46. Vpeholande : Wap. Sur., 42.

Cp. *Holland*, and *Down Holland* above. *Up-* here means 'up country,' i.e. away from the river or sea, in distinction to *Downholland*.

Uplitherland

1320-46. Vpelitherlonde : Wap. Sur., 40.

Upton (Farnworth)

1311. Upton : De Lac. Inq., 23.

Urmston

1212. Urmeston : Gt. Inq. L. Inq., p. 71.
1218-19. A. de Wurmeston : L. A. R., p. 258.
1285. Ormiston : L. A. R., p. 211.
1284. Ormeston : L. A. R., p. 180.
1296. Urmeston : Plac. Q. Warr., 372*b*.

The first element is a form of *Ōrm*, an O. N. pers. n., q. v. under *Ormskirk*, etc., above. It is not remarkable that we should get a spelling with *U* in this name. The pronunciation of O. N. *ō* was like that of Mod. Swed.—an over-rounded vowel, which to English ears would sound much more like *ū*, than *ō*. Cp. *Thurs*day from O. N. *Thōr-*.

Urswick [ōsik. Br.]

TYPE I.

1189. Hursewic : Ch. I., xxi., L. P. R., p. 437.

1202. Urswic : L. F., i. p. 22.
1198-1208. { vrswic : Ch. v., xii., L. P. R., p. 365.
Ursewich : Ch. iv., xii., L. P. R., p. 362.
1277. Urswyk : L. A. R., p. 144.
1285. Urswyke : L. Inq., p. 261.
13th c. { Ursewyk :
Ursewik : } Lanc. Ch., pp. 29, 158.
1346. Vrswicke : Wap. Sur., 68.
1460. Ursewyk, T. : Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. C. 1784, p. 449.

TYPE II.

1283. Hurstwike : L. Inq., p. 257.

W

Walkden [wogdən]

'Fuller's Valley.'

The first element is most probably the same which is found in Worcs. *Walk-wood*, *Walk Mills*; *Walk Mill* also occurs in Staffs., and *Walkern* in Herts. These names are explained by Duignan (Worcs. Pl. Ns., p. 170, and Staffs. Pl. Ns., p. 158), and by Skeat (Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 34) as containing the O. E. word *wealcere*, 'a fuller,' a word which is still used in many provincial dialects. For the second element of *Walkden*, see *denu*, etc., in Pt. II.

Walney [wānі]

1127. Wagneia : Lancs. Ch., i. iv., L. P. R., p. 302.
1189-94. Wageneia : Lancs. Ch., xi. iv., L. P. R., p. 315.
1227. Wagneia (Forest of Furness and) : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 18.

The early forms point to the O. E. pers. n. *Waga*, which Searle records as occurring in the O. E. period, and in D. B. If the pl. n. were originally **Wagan ēā* or *ēġ*, we should expect to get a Mod. form (wōni) in standard Engl., and indeed a modified form of this is the genuine local pronunciation. The normal spelling for such a name at the present day would be **Wawney*, and the accepted spelling is probably quite modern, but in the absence of more material it is impossible to be sure. For the second element, see *ey* in Pt. II.

Walsden

1235. Walseden : L. F., i. p. 69.

The Herts. *Walsworth* is explained by Skeat (Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 57) as derived from O. E. *wealesworþ*, 'homestead of the stranger,' and the prefix in *Walsall* (Staffs.) is explained by Duignan in the same way. The 1235 form *Walseden* does not favour such an explanation in this case, and one is inclined to suggest a pers. n. such as **Walsa*, which, however, is not recorded,

or *Wels* which occurs in Beowulf (897), while the patronymic *Wælsing* formed from it occurs not only in Beowulf (877), but also in the pl. n. *Wælsingham*. Cp. the Will of *Wulfgȳþ*, 1046, Thorpe's Diplomat., p. 563, etc. Cp. further *Wælslegh*, C. D., iv. p. 164 (1065).

Walshaw Hall (Bury)

1342. Walsehagh : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 325.
1591. Walshawe : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 64.

The first element is possibly the pers. n. *Wæls* as in *Walsden* above, or it may be the O. E. *Walh-*, etc., 'foreigner,' cp. *Walton* below. The second element is either *haga*, 'enclosure,' or *sċeaga*, 'wood.' It is impossible to determine which.

Walthew House (Wigan)

This appears to be the O. E. name *Waldþēōf*. Björkman (N. Pn. in England, pp. 173, 174) regards this name as having a Norse origin. In the N. form *Valþjōfr*, it is found fairly frequently both in Norway and in Iceland. In the English forms *Walthef*, *Waltef*, etc., and in the Latinised form *Waldevius* it is familiar to students of D. B. and the early chs. In the form *Walthew* as above the name still survives as a surname in Lancashire.

Walton

1086. Waletone : D. B., 269*b*.
1093-94. Waleton : Ch. I., i., L. P. R., p. 269.
1162-82. Walton : Whall. Ch., T. III. vii. p. 78.
1176-77. } Waleton : { L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1202. } { L. F., i. p. 13.
1295. } { L. F., i. p. 179.
1350. Qualton : Feod. Mil. cit Baines, iv. p. 756.

'The tūn of the foreigner(s).' The first element is probably O. E. *wealh, walh*. See other pl. ns. containing this element under *Walsden* above, which, however, does not itself contain this element. See *tūn* in Pt. II.

Warbreck

1138-41. Wardebrec Ch., v. i., L. P. R., p. 276.
1155. Wardebrech Ch., xii. 1, L. P. R., p. 284.
1249. Warthebrec : L. Inq., p. 172.
1340. Warthebrek : L. F., ii. p. 195.

N.B.—Le Warthe occurs as the name of a pasture in Cuerdly in 1282, L. Inq., p. 247.

'Beacon hill,' or 'slope.' See O. N. *varða*, and *brekka* in Pt. II. Cp. next two names for first element.

Wardle, Wuerdle-with- (Rochdale) [wādl, E. A. H.]

? 13th. } Wordehull : { Whall. Ch., { T. iv. p. 157.
? early 14th. } { T. iv. p. 156.

1329. Wardhull : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 262.
1500. Wordhill Parva : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 12.
1558. Wardehill in Hundresfelde : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 45.
1622. Werdill : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 85.

'Look-out hill.' The first element is O. E. *weard*, which see in Pt. II., and compare with the Scand. *várða*, ibid. For the second element see O. E. *hyll* in Pt. II.

Wardleworth (Rochdale)

1329. Wortlisworth : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 257.

'The farmstead on the outlook hill.' See preceding name, and *worþ* in Pt. II.

Warington

1086. Walintune : D. B., 269*b* and 270*a*.
1175-82. Wlinton : Ch. xv. 1, L. P. R., p. 287.
1255. Wherinton : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 451.
1277. Werington (bis) : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 205.
1285. Werington (ter) : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 326.
1517. Weryngton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 19.
1518. Waryngton maner : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 20.

'The tūn of the Warings.' The name *Ware* seems to occur in O. E., though Searle's reference is merely 'Grueber.' There is a *Weringetone* (Somers.) in D. B., 482. The interchange of *l* for *r*, which occurs in the D. B. and 1175 forms above, is noted by Zachrisson (A.-N. influence on Engl. Pl. Ns.), pp. 138, 139 as due to Norman scribes. See several other examples quoted by Z.

Warton [wɑrtn]

1086. Wartun : D. B., 301*b*.
1153-60. de Wartuna : Ch. iv., v., L. P. R., p. 323.
1208. Wartun : L. F., i. p. 29.
1292. Warton : Plac. Q. Warr., 383 *b*.

The early forms throw no light. *Wara* (Warwcs.) occurs, D. B., 242*b*; *Waras* (Heref.), D. B., 138*b*; *Wareberg* (Notts.), D. B., 286, 2; *Warham* (Norf.), D. B., 143.

Watershedding

1102. Watersdeles (watershed on summit of Pendle) : Ch. II., xv., L. P. R., p. 385.

1135-41. Wittershedeles : Ch. IV. xv., L. P. R., p. 388.

'Watershed.' See M. E. *schedding* in Pt. II. The early forms appear to show a suffix *-els-*, which occurs in several O. E. words —e.g. *rǣdels*, 'counsel,' *byrgels*, 'burial place,' etc.

Wavertree [wōtri and weivətri]

1086. Wauretreu : D. B., 269*b*.

1176. (de) Wauertre(a) : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.

1195-96. Wavertre : L. P. R., 42, p. 94.

1200-01. Wavertrie : L. P. R., 47, p. 127.
Wavertree : p. 126.

1292. Wau'tre : Plac. Q. Warr., 382*b*.

1297. Wavertre : Cal. Inq. P. M., i. p. 136, No. 51.

1547. Wartre : Duc. Lanc., i. 165.

1635. Wawtry : Harl. MS., 2130, 49, cit. Baines, iii. p. 738.

The 'waver tree' theory which Professor Skeat suggested to Mr. Harrison (L'pool District Pl. Ns., p. 70) does not seem very convincing. It is possible that the first element may be the O. E. pers. n. *Wærferð*, as it apparently is in *Waverley* Abbey (Surrey), of which I have found the form *Waverdlei* in a M. E. record the reference to which I am now unfortunately unable to find.

The two pronunciations (weivətri) and (wōtri), the latter of which is still heard among many older (educated) people in Liverpool, go back to two distinct M. E. types—*Wāvertre* and *Wauertre* respectively.

Weeton

1086. Wideton : D. B., 301*b*.

1205-06. Whiteton : L. P. R., 52, p. 202.

1249. Witheton : L. Inq., p. 172.

1292. Wytheton : Plac. Q. Warr., 385.

1329. Wytton : Whall. Ch., T. v. xliii. p. 263.

1537. Weton : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 1263.

The early forms are ambiguous. The D. B. form, if reliable, would point to the first element being O. E. *wīd*, 'wide,' as in *Widness* below ; the 1205 form would imply that the first element was O. E. *hwīt*, 'white,' and the 1249 and 1292 forms suggest O. E. wiðiġ, 'willow,' as the first element. None of these possibilities square with the present-day form, and the form of 1329 suggests nothing at all. In the face of such varying testimony I forbear to make any suggestion.

Welsh Whittle

1242-43. Walsewythull : Scut. of Gasc., L. Inq., p. 150.
1354. Walssh-withall : L. F., ii. p. 139.
1418. Whalswhetyll : L. F., iii. p. 83.
1497. Walch whitle : L. F., iii. p. 146.
1506. Walsshwhetill : } L. F., iii. p. 160. (Different documents.)
Welchwhitle : }

The prefix is the O. E. *welisċ*, 'foreign,' the adj. formed from the O. E. noun *walh*, 'foreigner.' A confusion has taken place in the early forms between the noun and adj., hence we get *walsh-*, etc. instead of *welsh-*. The second part of the name contains the two elements, O. E. *hwīt*, 'white,' and *hyll*, 'hill' (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Wenington

1086. Wininctune : D. B., 301*b*.
1202. Wenigton (twice) : L. F., i. p. 12.
1227. Wenington : L. F., i. p. 51.
1247. Wenynton : L. F., i. p. 150.
1292. Wenyngton : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.

The first element is apparently a patronymic formed from the O. E. pers. n. *Wenna*, which Searle records as occurring in the pl. n. *Wennan stan*, or it may be simply the gen. case. The latter is rather more probable, as in the former case the M. E. forms ought to be *Wenningeton*. Cp. *Wennigetun* (W. R. Yorks.), D. B., 301*b*. At the same time it must be admitted that the early forms rather point to *-ing-* as being primitive.

Werneth Park (Oldham)

1558-59. Wyernyth : Duc. Lanc., i. 45.
1572. Wyreneth : Duc. Lanc., i. 45.
1686-87. Wiernith : Duc. Lanc., i. 39.

The above forms are too late to throw much light, and I can make no reasonable suggestion.

Wesham

1235. Westhus : L. F., i. p. 72.
1262. Westesham : L. Inq., p. 231.
1524. Wessom : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 22.
1581. Wessham, Gregory Mason of : } Rich. Wills, p. 192.
1672. Westhouses, Gabriel Mason of : }

The above forms make it pretty certain that this name is a contraction of *West husum*, 'at the west houses.'

Westby

1086. Westbi : D. B., 301*b*.
1292. Westby : Plac. Q. Warr, 380.

West Derby

1176-77. Westerbi : L. P. R., 23, p. 35.
1200-01. Westderebi : L. P. R., 47, p. 131.
1338. Westderbishire : L. F., ii. p. 110.

Westhead (Ormskirk)

1189-96. Westhefd Ch. I. xi., L. P. R., p. 349.
1313. R. del Westheued : L. F., ii. p. 15.
1657. Westhead in Lathome : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 98.

There is no doubt as to the meaning of the first element, but in such cases the question always is—west of what ? See *hēāfod* in Pt. II.

Westhoughton [west*a*ut(ə)n]

1331. Westhalghton : L. F., ii. p. 80.
1509. West Halghton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 10.
1546. West haughton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 31.

See under *Houghton* above.

Westleigh

1292. Westlay in Legh : L. F., i. p. 170.
1315. Westelegh : L. F., ii. p. 20.
1329. Westeleye : Whall. Ch., T. v. xliii. p. 268.

Westwood (Seat near Wigan)

Late 13th c. Westewod : Whall. Ch., T. ii. p. 50.
1329. Westwod : T. v. p. 259.
Westewod : p. 286.
1685-86. Westwoode : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 40.

Wetshaw

1246-47. R. de Wetesshagh : L. A. R., p. 71.
1285. Richard Of-the-Wetschawe : L. A. R., p. 198.
1322. Weteshagh : L. F., ii. p. 47.
1382. Wetteshagh : L. F., iii. p. 13.

'Wet wood.' From O. E. *wæt*, and *sċeaga*, 'wood.' Cp. Yorks. *Wetwang*, which means 'wet field,' or 'plain.'

Whalley

c. 1121. æt Hweallæge : A.-S. Chron. MS. Laud, under year 798. Cp. Plummer's Ed., vol. i. p. 57, or Thorpe's Ed., vol. i. p. 101.

? æt Hwælleage : A.-S. Chron. MS. Cott. Tiber., B. iv. Cp. Thorpe, p. 101.

The above forms are placed first, as preserving the genuine traditional O. E. spellings, infinitely more valuable for the present purpose than the even earlier spellings of Norman scribes.

The Norman and M. E. spellings are :—

1086. Wallei : D. B., 2*a*, 3, 270*a*.
1184-85. (de) Walleg(a) : L. P. R., 30, p. 52.
1257. Qualley : L. Inq., p. 204.
1293. Qualley : L. Inq., p. 281.
1297.
1298. } Whallay : { L. Inq., p. 289. / L. F., i. p. 185.
1302. Walleye : L. Inq., p. 319.

'Hillfield,' or 'plain.' O. N. *hwāll*, 'a hill.' Cleasby-Vigf. says 'not much used, *hōll* being the common word ; but is still used of a dome-shaped hill, and in local names of farms lying under such hills.'

Wharles

1249. Quarlous : L. Inq., p. 172.
1286. Warlawes : L. Inq., p. 265.

The curious form *Parles* is printed in Lanc. Ch., 21 (before 1225), the explanation of which probably is that the scribe has misread the O. E. p=*w* ; cp. the same mistake in *Grathpeyte*= Grathweyte, Lanc. Ch., 77 (thirteenth century).

The first element may be O. N. *hverr*, 'kettle, hot spring.' Mod. Dial. *were*, 'pool,' cp. *Wher-well* (Hants.), Middendorff, p. 79. Cp. also to *Hwerfel diċe*, C. D., iii. p. 316 (1001), and *Hueruele*s (Norf.), D. B., 113. The early forms do not disclose with any certainty the identity of the second element.

? Whartsgate

1228. Huartesgait : Whall. Ch., 371.

Wheatley

1086. Watelei : D. B., 301*b*.
1292. Wheteley : Plac. Q. Warr., 375.
1591. Wheatley : Duc. Lanc., p. 56.

'Wheat field.' The D. B. spelling perhaps arose from the scribes ignorance of the O. E. symbol æ—*Hwæte*—if he copied

the form from a document, or if he took it down from the spoken form, from his inability to render the O. E. sound.

Wheelton

1159-64. Weltonam Ch., I. xiv., L. P. R., p. 374.
1288.) 1292.) Quelton : L. Inq., p. 273. Plac. Q. Warr., 369.
1294. Weltone : De Lac. Comp., p. 10.
1318. Quilton : L. F., ii. p. 14.
1305. Queltone : De Lac. Comp., p. 97.
1329. Whelton : Whall Ch., T. v. xliii. p. 268.

***Whelpside**, or ***Whelpshead** (Do the forms below refer to Whelprigg near Kirkby Lonsdale, Westm. ?)

1235. Welpesat : L. F., i. p. 60.
13th c. Quelpesatecrag : Furn. Ch., p. 326 (nr. Broughton). Qulpsatecrage : Furn. Ch., 332.

***Whickleswick** (Barton-on-Irwell)

1505. Whickleswicke : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 47.
1598. Whiklesweeke : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 67.

***Whinscalesherth** (?) (Par. of Kirkham)

1249. Quinscaldisherthe : Quinschaltishurede : Inq. of Hen. III., No. 153, p. 37.

Whiston

1190. 1202-33. 1226-31. Quistan : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 603. p. 604. p. 605.
1292. Quitstan : ibid., p. 1113.
1385. Whistane : Duc. Lanc., p. 3.
1516. Whistan : Duc. Lanc., p. 19.

The early forms show that the second element was originally O. E. *stān*, ' stone.' The first may be O. E. *hwīt*, ' white.'

Whitaker (Burnley)

1212-42. Quitaker : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 162.
1246. A. de Quitacre : L. A. R., p. 90.
1245-48. 1272. 13th c. Wedacre : Wedeacre : Lanc. Ch., pp. 252 and 256. p. 338.
1296. Whitacre : Whall. Ch., T. v. p. 205.
1315. Wedakre, R. de : L. F., ii. p. 21.
1441. Qwytacre, J. de : L. F., iii. p. 48.

' White field.' Cp. O. E. *hwīt* and *æcer* in Pt. II.

***Whitecross Street**

1553-58. Whitecrosse Street in Lytherpole : Duc. Lanc., i. 263.

? *Whitelands (Land in Barrow-in-Furness near Cringlebarrow)

1236-56. Whitelandes : Lanc. Ch., 195.

13th c. { Whitelondes : Lanc. Ch., 188.
Wytelands : Lanc. Ch., 247.

Whiteray (in Tatham)

1235. Wytewra : L. F., i. p. 67.

'White corner.' The second element is O. N. *vrā.* (q. v. in Pt. II.).

Whitewell Bottom (Ross.)

1283. Quitewell : L. Inq., p. 256.

See the elements *hwīt,* and *well* in Pt. II.

? Whitfallhead

1307. Wytfalheud : L. Inq., p. 321.

Whitfield (Rochdale)

1182-83. Witefeld : L. P. R., 29, p. 50.
1292. Whitefeld : Plac. Q. Warr., 369.
1514. Whitfeld : Duc. Lanc., p. 18.
1640. Whitfeild (in Crompton) : Duc. Lanc., p. 101.

This name means what it appears to mean, and presumably refers to the colour of the soil.

Whittingham (Ribchester)

1086. Witingheham : D. B., 301*b.*
1292. Whytingham : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b.*
1311. Whityngham : L. F., ii. p. 12.

Whittington (in Lonsdale)

1086. Witetune : D. B., 301*b.*
1259. Quitanton : L. F., i. p. 131.
13th c. Whityngton (H. de) : Lanc. Ch., 306.
1301. Whytington : L. F., i. p. 197.
1329. Qwytington : Whall. Ch., 270.

The first element is probably the O. E. pers. n. *Hwīta,* the original form of the whole being **Hwītantun.* Cp. *Hwitan beorh,* C. D., 373, cit Searle. On the other hand the first element may be simply the adj. *hwīt,* 'white,' here used in the dat. sing. in such a phrase as **æt ðæm hwitan tune.*

Whittle-le-Woods

1221. Withul : L. F., i. p. 43.
1241. Wythalg (perh. Wh-l-Woods) [Farrer].
1257. Withulle : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 474.
1292. Quitehalhe : L. Inq., p. 275.
1478. Whityll : L. F., iii. p. 136.
1497. Withel (Whittle le Woods) : L. F., iii. p. 146.

Either 'White hill,' or 'White halgh.' Confusion has obviously arisen between the two suffixes. Such Mod. family names as *Whitehalgh*, *Whethall*, which are variants of the above show a fuller form of the second element. The first element in *Whethall* shows confusion with O. E. *hwǣte*, 'wheat.'

Whitworth

1258. Whyteword : } Whall. Ch., { T. de Bull., p. 179.
1329. Whiteword : } { T. V., p. 256.
1324. { Wyteworth : } L. C. R., { p. 23.
{ Whiteworth : } { p. 142.

'The white homestead,' or 'White's homestead.'

***Wibaldeslei** (near Whiston ?)

1086. Wibaldeslei : D. B., 269*b*.

The *lǣh* of *Wigbald*. This is a common O. E. pers. n. (see Searle). *Wibaldus* occurs in D. B. as the name of a person holding land in Bucks. as an under tenant at the formation of the Survey (Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 410). The pl. n. *Wyboston* (Beds.) appears in D. B., 210*b*, 2, as *Wiboldestone* (Skeat, Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 56) ; and *Wyboston* in Hunts. is similarly derived by the same writer (Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 348) ; *Wobaston* in Staffs. represents an older *Wibaldestun*, a form quoted by Duignan (Staffs. Pl. Ns., p. 173) with no reference to any document.

Widnes

1241-42. Wydenes : L. Inq., p. 157.
1256. Wydnes : L. F., i. p. 120.
1257. Widnes : L. Inq., p. 203.
1292. Wyddenes : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b*.
? 1294. Wythus : De Lac. Comp., p. 5.
1295. Wydenesse : De Lac. Comp., p. 49.
1305. Wedenes : De Lac. Comp., p. 62.
1322. Vydnes : Orig. Rlls., 265*b*.

'Wide ness, or promontory.' See *wīd* and *næss* in Pt. II.

Wigan

1245. { Wygayn : / Wigayn : } Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 284.
1258. Wygayn (bis) : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 6.
Ante 1281. { Wigan : / Wygan : } Lanc. Ch., 120. / Lanc. Ch., 279.
1292. Wygan : { Plac. Q. Warr., 371*b*. / Orig. Rlls., 73*b*.

The above forms throw no light, and I can offer no satisfactory suggestion. Harrison's identification with O. E. *wīg*, 'war,' or *wiga*, 'warrior,' seems to me an absurdity. First, places are not named in this way; secondly, these O. E. words are poetical words, and would not be used in pl. ns. even if such designations were used; thirdly, the Mod. form absolutely prohibits such an etymology. If H. were right the Mod. name would be **Wine* or **Wyon*=(wain, waiən), or something of the sort.

There is a *Wigginton* in Herts., which Mr. Skeat (Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 49) derives from the pers. n. *Wicga*, common enough in O. E. The difficulty is that *ċg* in O. E. generally represents a front stop from which we should expect Mod. Engl. **Widge-*. Such trifles do not usually stand in the way of writers on pl. ns., and if we brush it aside here we might say that *Wigan* stood for O. E. *Wiċġan-* (gen. sing.), and that *-ham*, *-tūn*, *-cot*, or some other word of the sort has been left out. This does not satisfy me.

Wilpshire

End 13th c. Wlipshire : Whall. Ch., T. III. lxiii. p. 128.
1313. Wlypshire : L. F., ii. p. 17.
1508. Willipshire : L. F., iii. p. 165.

Windermere

1157-63. Winendemere : Ch. IX., iv., L. P. R., p. 310.
1196. { Winendremer : / Winandermer : } L. F., i. p. 5.

The first element appears to be a pers. n. with the O. N. genitive suffix *-ar*. The O. N. name **Vignandr* does not seem to be recorded otherwise, but its exact O. E. equivalent *Wignōþ* occurs several times according to Searle. For the second element see *mere* in Pt. II.

Windle

1202. Windhulle : L. F., i. p. 37.
1305. Wyndhil : De Lac. Comp., p. 117.
1354. Wyndhull : L. F., ii. p. 143.

There is no trouble about the second element—O. E. *hyll*, but what is the first? The obvious suggestion that it is O. E. *wind* is probably wrong.

Wingates (Wigan)

1318-19. Windgates : Scar. Ch., 56, 276.

? Winkedley

1292. Wynkedeley : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.

Winmarleigh

1212. {in Wynomerislega : / Wynermerisle :} Gt. Inq., L. Inq., p. 3.
1241. / 1242. Wimerleg : {L. F., i. p. 82. / Lanc. Ch., 32.}
1262. Wynnemerley : L. F., i. p. 135.
1292. Wyndmerlegh : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1409-10. Wynnarlegh : L. F., iii. p. 69.
1504-05. Wyrmerley : L. F., iii. p. 170.
1535-43. Wimmerlaw : Leland, iv. p. 10.
1537. Wynmerlyght : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 1275.

The first element is the O. E. pers. n. *Winemār* which occurs as a man's name in D. B., and in the pl. n. *Wimarspol* (Notts.), D. B., 289*b*. For the second element see O. E. *lāh*, Pt. II.

***Winscarthmire** (Broughton-in-F. ?)

13th c. Wyndscarthmire : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., 231.

Winstanley

1205-06. Unstanesle, R. de : L. P. R., p. 205.
1252. Wynstaneslegh : L. F., i. p. 114.
1292. Wynstanesleye : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1327. Wynstanesleye : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 104.

'The lee of *Winestan*.' *On Wynstanesham* occurs, C. D., vi. p. 137, in a ch. dated 996 ; and to *Winstanes stapole* in C. D., v. p. 184 (Somers.), c. 916.

***Winsterthwaite.** Cf. R. Winster (Cartmel)

1283. Winstirthwayte : L. Inq., p. 256.

Winton (Eccles)

1622. Winton : Duc. Lanc., p. 87;

Winwick [winik]

1169-70. Winequich : L. P. R., 16, p. 16.
1170-71. Winequic : L. P. R., 17, p. 30.
1184-85. Winewich : L. P. R., 30, p. 52.
1192. {Wynewick : / Wynewhik :} Whall. Ch., T. II. vii. p.
1200-01. Winequiq : L. P. R., 47, p. 130.
1208. Wenequec : L. F., i. p. 33.
1227. Wynquic : Lanc. Ch., p. 150.

'The wick, or dwelling of *Wineca*.' The above forms seem to prove that the first element is the pers. n. *Wineca*, which is found in *æt Winecan felda*, Birch Ch., ii. p. 515, and C. D., v. p. 276 (Ad. 942). This name occurs also as *Wynekfelde*, F. A., i. p. 48 (1316).

***Wirplesmoss** (near Cross Hall, Liverpool. Cf. Farrer, L. P. R., p. 351)

1189-96. Wirplesmos : Ch. I., xi., L. P. R., p. 349.
Cp. *Werplesgrave* (Oxon.) : D. B., 156*b*.

Wiswall

1207. Wisewell : L. F., i. p. 27.
1281. Wysewell : Orig. Rlls., 39.
1292. Wysewelle : Plac. Q. Warr., 378*b*.
1298. Wysewall : Whall. Ch., T. v. xxi. p. 213.
1331. Wisewall : L. F., ii. p. 80.

The ingenious and suggestive remarks of Professor Skeat (Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 46) on the prefix of *Wisbeach* seem to apply to the first element of *Wiswall*. He takes *Wis-* to be a form of a river name, later known as the *Ouse*. There is, I believe, no river called Ouse in Lancs., but *wis-* may well be a form of Celtic *uisge*, 'water,' or 'river.' This is confirmed by its association with the suffix in the present case, which the old forms show to have been *well*, 'spring.'

***Withengreave**

13th c. Wythingreue : Lanc. Ch., 219.

'Withy grove.' See O. E. *wiðiġ* and *grǣf* in Pt. II.

Withington

1249. Wytintun : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 345.
1278. {Wydington : / Wythinton :} L. F., i. {p. 154. / p. 155.}
1292. Witington : Plac. Q. Warr., 377.

Perhaps ‘ withy town.’ See the two preceding names. The change of the suffix *-en-*, when retained, to *-ing-* is pretty common. Cp. *Hollingworth, Haslingden,* and the remarks p. 35, § 28, above.

Withneli

1159-64. Withinhull : Ch. I., xiv., L. P. R., p. 374.
1292. Wythenhull : Whall. Ch., T. iii. l. p. 118.
1306. Wythenull : L. F., i. p. 207.
1329. Widthenhull : / Wythenhull : } Whall. Ch., T. v. xliii. p. 268.

‘ Withy hill.’ The *-en* suffix is adjectival as in *oak-en*, etc.

Witton

1205-06. Whiteton : L. P. R., 52, p. 202.
1288. Wytton : Whall. Ch., T. iii. p. 111.
1548. Witton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 9.

‘ White, or White’s Town.’

***Wolfal (?)** (near Cronton)

1242. J. de la Wulfhal : L. F., i. p. 76.
1262. J. de Wolfal : L. F., i. p. 138.
1323. H. de Wolfall : L. F., ii. p. 54.
1353. T. de Wolfall : L. F., ii. p. 138.
1546. Wolfall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 30.
1594. Woofall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 62.
1624. Woolfall : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 88.

The second element is apparently O. E. *halh*, ‘ nook,’ ‘ corner ’ ; the first, if it does not refer to the animal, is a pers. n. *Wulf-*.

Wolstenholme (Family name called wūznəm, cp. Bardsley)

1278. Wlstanesholme : L. F., i. p. 154.
1290. Wolfstonesholme : Cal. Rotl. Ch., p. 121.
1291. Wolstonesholm : Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 390.
1326. Wolfstanesholm : Abbrev. Plac., p. 355.
1332. Wolstonholm : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., ii. p. 33.

The ‘ holm ’ of *Wulfstan*. See *holm*, Pt. II. Wulfstan is very common O. E. pers. n., and is found also in local designations in O. E., *Wulfstanesdic, Wulfstaneshegesbyht, Wulfstanes mearc*, all occur in C. D.

Wolvemore

1202. Wolvemor : L. F., i. p. 16.
1262. Wolvemore : / Wofmor : } L. F., i. p. 136. / p. 141.

This may either mean the moor infested or haunted by wolves,

or the first element may stand as a shortened form of *Wulfstān*, or some other of the many O. E. pers. ns. beginning with *Wulf-*. Note that the first element is an inflected form O. E. *Wulfa-*, etc., otherwise the Mod. form would be **Woolmore*. Cp. *Wo(o)l-sten-* for *Wulfstān-* in Wolstanholm above.

Woodplumpton

1336. Wodeplumpton : L. F., ii. p. 101.
1545. Woodeplumpton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 174.

See *Plumton* above, and *wudu* in Pt. II.

Woolston

1257. Wlston : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 458.
1292. { Wolston : Plac. Q. Warr., 373*b*. / Wlston : Orig. Rlls., 73*b*.
1309. Wolston (and Glasebroke) : L. F., iii. p. 34.
1310. Wolstoun : Orig. Rlls., 172*b*.

This is either the 'tūn' of *Wulf* (pers. n.), or, more probably, it represents a compound name such as *Wulfstān-* or *Wulfmær*, etc. See remarks under *Wolvemore*. It is, however, impossible to be certain what these contracted pers. ns. stand for if the older and fuller forms are not forthcoming. *Woolstone* in Berks. is *Wulfrices tūn*.

Woolton

1086. Vluentone : D. B., 269*b*.
1292. Wolneton : Plac. Q. Warr., 379.
1292. Wolveton : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1292. Little Wolveton : L. F., i. p. 166.
1398. Little Wolueton : L. F., iii. p. 51.
1423. Wolveton : L. F., iii. p. 88.
1567. { Mich Wooton : / Little Wooton : } Wills and Inventories, Ed. Piccope, Chetham Soc., 33. p. 76.
1614. Wulton : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 83.

The tūn of *Wulf* (pers. n.), or of *Wulfstān*, etc. (cp. remarks under *Wolvemore*, and *Wolstenholm* above). In spite of the M. E. spellings which suggest an inflected form, we have undoubtedly an uninflected form as the source of the Mod. name.

Worsley (Eccles) [wazli]

13th c. { Wortheleye : / Wordelay : } Whall. Ch., T. II. xxxv. p. xiii. p.
1292. Wordelegh : Plac. Q. Warr., 375*b*.
1657. Worseley in par. de Eccles : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 101.

'The field by the homestead.' See O. E. *worþ* and *lǣh* in Pt. II.

Worsley

1219. Wykerdley : Wikerley : L. F., i. p. 41.
1219. Wirkedley : Wyrkedley : L. F., i. p. 42.
1292. H. de Werkedley : Lanc. Ch., p. 64.
1311. Workeslegh : L. F., ii. p. 11.
1378. Workeslegh : L. F., iii. 4.
1413. Workesley : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 1.
1501. Workeslegh : L. F., iii. p. 150.
1687-88. Worsley : Wordeley : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 39.

There are several puzzles among the early forms of this name. What have the *Wyker-*, *Wiker-* forms to do with the others, and how did they arise ? How and why did a *d* develop in the form *Wirkedley* ? I cannot answer these questions.

If we take the forms in *Workes-* to be the real ancestors of the Mod. form, we may take this element to be either an O. E. pers. n., as Searle does in *Weorcesmere*, though I doubt very much if this be correct, or as meaning a fort, or earthwork, O. E. *ġeweorc*.

Worsthorne [wɑ̄stɔən]

1202. Worthesthorn : L. F., i. p. 22.
1202. Wrdestorn : L. F., i. p. 18.
1296. Worston : Whall. Ch., T. v. xvi., p. 206.
1328. Wursthorn : L. F., ii. p. 75.
1370. Worstorn : L. F., ii. p. 178.

'The thorn tree near the homestead.' See O. E. *worþ* and *þorn* in Pt. II.

Worston

1241-42. Wrdeston : L. Inq., p. 156.
1251. Wurchestun : Cal. Ch. Rlls., i. p. 357.
1292. Wortheston : Plac. Q. Warr., 381*b*.
1295. Worchestone : De Lac. Comp., p. 15.
1305. Wurchestone : De Lac. Comp., p. 97.
1320. Worston : L. F., ii. p. 33.
1340. Worsthone : Whall. Ch., T. v. xci. p. 324.
1370. Worston : L. F., ii. p. 178.

'The enclosure, or yard of the homestead.' See *Worþ* and *tūn* in Pt. II. The earlier forms show confusion between *worþ*, and O. E. *ġeweorc*, 'earthwork.'

Worthington

1190-1219. 1200-35. 1212-40. Wrthinton : Worthinton : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 513. p. 512. p. 515.

1227. Wurthington : L. F., i. p. 48.

'The enclosure of Worþa.'

Wrampool (Garstang)

1230. 1342. Wrangepul : Cockrsnd. Ch., p. 379. p. 383.

'Crooked pool.' O. N. (*v*)*rangr*, 'wrong,' 'awry.' See *pul* under *pōl* in Pt. II. Cp. *Wrangbrook*, Moorman, W. R. Yorks.

Wray or **Wrea** [rē]

1229. Wra : L. F., i. p. 56.

1292. Wrae : Wra : Plac. Q. Warr., 380*b*.

1380. Wraa : L. F., iii. p. 7.

1513. Wrae : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 16.

1520. Wraa : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 22.

1568. Wraye : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 41.

1618. Wraie : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 79.

'The corner, nook.' See O. N. *vrā* in Pt. II.

Wrayton (Tunstall)

1285. Wraton : L. Inq., p. 261.

1292. Wraiton : L. F., i. p. 56.

1332. Wraton : Lanc. and Chesh. Misc., II. ii. p. 97.

1512. Wraton : Duc. Lanc., p. 17.

1561. Wrayton : Duc. Lanc.

'The enclosure by the corner or landmark.' See *vrā* in Pt. II.

Wrightington

1195. Wrstincton : L. F., iii. (Appendix), p. 172.

1202. Wrichtington : L. F., i. p. 19.

1256. Wrightinton : L. F., i. p. 128.

1262. Wrythinton : L. F., i. p. 136.

1292. Wryghtyngton : Whall. Ch., T. iii., l. p. 118.

1314. Wrightyngton : L. F., ii. p. 21.

The place, habitation, etc., of the smiths. O. E. *wyrhta*, 'workman, smith.' The *s* in the 1195 form is a Norman-French device to express the Engl. *ħ* sound.

Wrynose Hause

1157-63. Wreineshals : Ch. IX. iv., L. P. R., p. 310.
Wraineshas : Same Ch. Endorsement, p. 312.
1170-83. Wranishals : Ch. v., xxi., L. P. R., p. 442.
1196. Wreneshals (three times) : L. F., p. 4.

'Vreini's Pass.' The early forms show that the Mod. name is a new formation. The first element is almost certainly a pers. n., and from the earliest spellings of all an O. N. name. O. N. **Vrein-* is not recorded as a pers. n., but the word *(v)reini*, 'stallion,' exists, and this is a very likely name. Cp. O. E. *Hengist, Horsa*, etc., which have the same meaning. The suffix may be either O. E. *heals, hals*, or O. N. *hāls*, 'neck,' 'pass between mountains.' See remarks under *heals, hals* below.

Wyre (River)

13th c. Wyre : Lancast. Ch., 375.
1330. Wyre : Lancast. Ch., 471.

***Wyresbank**

1305. Wyrisbanke : De Lac. Comp., 60.

Wyresdale

1194-98. Wiresdale : Ch. I., viii., L. P. R., p. 336.
1228. Wyresdale : Whall. Ch., T. vi. p. 367.
1319. Wyresdale : L. F., ii. p. 38.
1326. Wyresdale : Orig. Rlls., 293*b*.

Y

Yealand (Conyers) [jɛlənd, kunjəz]

1206. Yaland : Lanc. Ch., 385.
1227. Yeland : Lanc. Ch., 150.
1292. Yealaund : Plac. Q. Warr., 379*b*.
1600. Yelland Conniers : Duc. Lanc., i. p. 66.

'Village land.' See O. E. *ġēā* in Pt. II.

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PART II

THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS WHICH OCCUR IN LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES

THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS IN LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES

A. THE PRINCIPAL O. E. AND O. NORSE PERSONAL NAMES IN LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES

Adda (Addington)
Æðelwine (Adlington)
Æðel-
Æġenulf (Ainsdale, Aintree ?)
Ælfwine (Allithwaite, Elliscales)
Alhmund Ealhmund, (Almond's Fold)
Ælfġēat (Altham)
Ælfhēāh (Alveden)
Æsc (Ashton, Ashworth, Askam)
Agmundr (Amounderness)
Aldwine, *Ealdwine* (Andenshaw)
Aldgȳþ (Audley)
Ani (Ancoats)
Anlāf (Anglezark)
Arnþorr (Anderton)
Arngeir (Angerby)
Arnketill (Artle Beck)
Arnulf, *Earnwulf* (Arnside)
Āsketill (Astley)
Audgrīmr (Orrell)

Bacca (Baxendale)
Becc or **Becca** (Beswick)
Baldhere (Balderstone)
Bardi (Beardwood, Beardsall)
? **Beorhrǣd** (Bardsea)
? **Beornulf** (Barnside)
Bill (Billing, Billington, Bilsborough)
Brōcwulf (Brocklehurst)
Carl (Carleton)
Ceadwalla (Cadishead)
Carl (Car)
Catt (Catlow) ? See also *Katbi*
Ceadd (Chadworth, Chadwick)
Ceārn (Charnock)
Ceatt (Chatburn)
Ceata (Chetham)
Cenewulf (Knowsley)
Cēōla (Chowbent)
Claca (Clacton)
Coupman O. N. *Kaupmaðr* (in Capernwray)
Crōc (Croston, Croxteth)

Dæġmǣr (Damas Gill)
Dalla (Dalton)
Dēor (Derby ?)
Dryġel (Droylsden)
Dūnhere (Dunnerdale)
Dunneca (Dunkenhalgh), also *Dunnoc* in Dunnockshaw
Dumela (Dumplington)

Ēadburh (Abram)
Ēadgar (Adgerley)
Eġis (Extwistle).

***Fæġel** (Failsworth)
(?) **Fjōrleifr** (Farleton)
Fasa (Fazakerley)

(?) **Feader** (Featherstone, Featherstall)
Finn (Finsthwaite)
(?) **Fisk** (Fishwick)
Flōki (Flookburgh)
Forni (Formby)

Gamall (Gambleside)
Geirr (Garstang)
Garðr (Garswood, Garseow)
Gaukr (Gawksholm, Gawthorpe)
Godwine (Godwinscales)
Godburh (Goodber)
Gōs(a) (Goosnargh)
Grimaldi (Crimbles)
Grīmr or **Grimm** (Grimsargh, Grimshaw, Greystoneley)
Grimketill (Cringlebarrow)
Grīss (Grisedale, Grisehead)
Gunnar (Gunner's How, Gunnerthwaite)
Gunnbjorg (Cumeralgh)
Gunnhildr (Gunnell's Fold)
Gunnulf (Gunulfs Moors)

(?) **Hædbeorg, Hædburg** (Habergham)
Hædkell (Hatlex)
Hafoc (Hawkshead, Hawkshaw, Hawkley)
Hākon (Hackensall, Hackin's Hey)
Halla (Hallhead, Hallsall, Halton)
Hamela (Hambledon)
(?) **Hāvarðr** (Haversedge, Haverthwaite)
(?) **Heiðin** (Henthorn, Hest)
Hōk (Hoghton, Howick)
Hræfn < **Hramm** (Rampsfield, Ramsgreave, Ramsholm)
Hræfn (Ravenmeols, Ravenswinder)
(?) **Hrōðhere** (Ritherham)
Hrōðwulf (Roddlesworth)

Ingulfr (Inglehead, Inglewhite, Inglebreck, Inglewood)

***Kelfgrīmr** (Kellamergh)
(?) **Knottr, Knūtr** (Knotshill)
Korni (Crumpsall)

Lēofhere (Liverpool)
Lufa (Lowick)

Marculf (Marsden)
Martin (Martinscroft)
Michael, Saint
Moll or **Muli** (Mowbrick)

Ohthere (Otterspool)
Ord- (Ordsall, Orford)
Orm (Ormerod, Ormskirk, Ormston)
Osbald (Osbaldeston)
Osmund (Osmotherley)
Ōswulf (Osselscroft)
Ōswald (Oswaldtwistle)

Padda (Padiham)
Pæcc (Pexhill)
Pilleca (Pilkington)
Pyll (Pilsworth)

Ragnald (Rainhill)
Rōskinn (Rossendale)

Saba (Sabden)
Sæffa (Sawick, Sefton)
Sċēafa (Shevington)
Scott (Scotsforth)
Selwa (Selside)
Siġeward or **Sigvarðr** (Silverdale)

Siġemund (Simonstone, Simonswood)
Singulfr (Singleton)
Skalli (Scaleber)
Snell (Snellshow)
Steinn (Stainall)
Styrr or **Ster**) Steerspool, Stirzaker)
Svein (Swainshead)

Tata (Tatham)
***Tilburh** (Tilburthwaite)
Tōki (Tockholes, Toxteth)
Totta (Tottington)
Þengill (Thingwall)
Þōrr (Turton)
or **Þōra** (Torbock)
Þōrbrandr (Thorburnshead)
Þorfinn (Torphinlees)
Þorun, Þoran (Thornton)
Þōrvaldr (Tarlscough, Tarleton, Torrisholm)
Þōrulfr or **Þorelfr** (Threlfal, Torver)
Þōrsteinn (Thurstanwater)

Ulfhere (Ulverston)
Ulfr (Owthwaite, Ulneswalton)

Valþjōfr (O. N.) or **Waldþēōf** (O. E.) (Walthew House, Wigan)
***Vreinni** (Wrynose Hawse)

Wæls (Walsden, Walshaw)
Waga (Walney)
Wiġbald (Wibaldsley)
Winecca (Winwick)
Winemǣr (Winmarleigh)
Winestān (Winstanly)
Wulf- (Wolvemore, Woolston, Woolton)
Wulfstān (Wolstenholme)

B. OTHER WORDS IN LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES

A

Āc, O. E., 'an oak-tree'; O. Fris. *ēk*; O. Sax. *ēk*; O. H. G. *eih*. Common element in Engl. Pl. Ns. Appears in various forms in the present day :—*Oak-* the full, unaltered form; *Ock-* with shortening in M. E. period; *Ack-*, *Ac-* if shortened in O. E. period; *Og-*, with M. E. shortening of vowel and vowel, of *-ck* before following voiced cons.; *Ag-* with O. E. shortening, and voicing. The Mod. forms *Aik-* etc., may be of English origin when found in the North of England, and in Scotland, but when they occur in Midlands (Lancs., etc.) must be of Norse origin, representing O. N. *Eik*. The Norse forms also appear with voicing of final *-k* as in *Aig*-burth (q. v.).

English Examples.—O. E. *Ac-lēāh*, C. D., i. p. 227 (804); *Āc*-ofre (Oakover, Staffs.), C. D., iii. p. 333 (1004), etc. Mod. names :—*Oakham*, Rutl.; *Oakley*, Beds.; *Ockley*, Surrey; *Ackley*, Montgom.; *Agden*, cp. Skeat, Hunts. Pl. Ns.; *Aggberrow*, Worcs.; *Ogbury*, Wilts (?). North forms :—*Aikton*, Cumb.; *Aikenhead*, Lanark.

Continental Names.—Low German *Eckwert*, Groningen; *Eikelborn*, Westf.; *Ickdahl*, Düsseldorf; High Germ. *Aichen*, Baden; *Eichbach*, Baden; *Eichendorf*, Bavaria. Norse: *Eikeberg*, *Eikeland*.

Lancashire Names.—Ackhurst Hall, Wigan; Aigburth; Aikengill; Aighton, Rib.; Aughton, Rib.; Fair Oak Fell, Chip.; Oak Gate, Bury; Oakenclough Fell, Garst.; Oakenhead, Garst.; Oakleigh, Nels.; Oaklands, Nels.; Ogden.

Æcer, 'field, land, sownland'; O. Fris. *ekker*; O. Sax. *akkar*; O. H. G. *achar accar*; O. N. *akr*.

Very common in O. E. as independent word in the above senses, e.g. *forðam is se æcer gehaten acheldemagh* (Matt. xxvii. 8); *Her ys seo bōt, hu ðu meaht þine æceras betan*, Lchdms., i. p. 398, l. 1.

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Oflingæcer*, C. D., iii. p. 48 (964); *Kytelaceras*, C. D., iv. p. 92 (1044).

The element is so common and obvious in Mod. names that it does not need illustration.

CONTINENTAL NAMES.—Low Germ. *de Gersikkers*, seat near Marrum; *Ikkerwalde*, village in Danlumadeel. High. Germ. *Bonacker*, Westf.; *Siebenacker*, Westf.; also in shortened form *-ack*, in *Karnack*, Westf., etc. etc. Norwegian *Akerhus*; *Greaaker*.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Acre, Ross; ? Accrington, Blackb'n; Barnacre, Garst.; Birkacre, Chorl.; Fazakerley, Liv.; Gateacre Brow, Liv.; Stanzaker Hall, Bilst.; Stirzaker, Garst.; Tarnacre Hall, Garst.; Weed Acre, Chip.; Whittaker, Littleb.; Whiteacre, Ribch.; Woodacre, Garst.

Ald, *eald*, O. E., 'old'; O. Fris. *ald*, *al*, etc.; O. Sax. *ald*; O. H. G. *alt*.

O. E. PL. NAMES.—*Ealdeburg*, C. D., iv. p. 153 (1062), Alburg; on *ealdan dic*, C. D., iii. p. 428 (948), in ðа *ealdan stræt*, C. D., iv. p. 70 (1042).

MOD. NAMES.—*Aldenham*, Herts.; *Oldbury*, Worcs.; *Oldcastle*, Chesh., etc.

CONTINENTAL NAMES.—Low Germ. *Allendorp*, Westf.; *Oldenburg*, *Oldendorf*, Hann.; *Oldentrup*, Westf.; High. Germ.: *Altenbeuren*, Baden; *Altenstein*, Baden.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Aldcliff, Oldham.

Alor, *alr*, O. E., 'alder tree'; O. Fris. *ielren*; M. Dutch *else*; O. H. G. *elira*; O. N. *elri*.

O. E. PL. NAMES.—*Alarbrōc*, C. D., iii. p. 343 (1004); *Alresford*, C. D., iv. p. 144 (c. 976).

MOD. ENGL. NAMES.—*Allerthorpe*, Yorks.; *Allerdale*, Cumb.; *Alderton*, Glos. [but this perh. = O. E. *aldor*, 'prince,' etc.]; *Alrewas*, Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.

CONTINENTAL NAMES.—Low Germ.: *Elsenburg*.

Æppel, O. E., 'apple'; O. Fris. *appel*; O. H. G. *apful*, *afful*; O. N. *epli*.

IN O. E. PL. NAMES.—*Æppelford*, Brks., C. D., ii. p. 130 (*Alford*); *Eppelhyrst*, Hants, C. D., v. p. 48 (749); æt *Apeltune*, C. D., iv. p. 284 (1049-52).

IN MOD. ENGL. PL. NAMES.—*Appleford*, Brks.; *Applegarth* Forest, Wstmlnd.; *Eppleton*, N. R. Yorks.; *Eppleworth*, E. R. Yorks.

CONTINENTAL NAMES.—Low Germ.: *Appelland*, Nth. Fries.; *Apelmerk*, Bolswan.; *Apeldoorn*, Gelderl.; *Aplerbeck*, Westf.;

High Germ. *Apfelbach*, Würtemb.; *Apfeldorf*, Bav.; Norwegian: *Apeland*, *Abelsö*.

Lancashire Names. — Applebury Hill Farm, Cartm.; Appleton, Warr.; Appletree Worth Beck, Con.; Appletree Holmes, B.-in-F.; Appletreethwaite, Appley Moor, ? Wigan.

Ærn, O. E., 'place, secret place, habitation, house, cottage'; O. N. *rann*, 'house,' Gothic razn, 'house.'

Occurs in numerous compounds: —bere-*ærn*, *-ern*, 'barn,' eorþ-ærn, grave'; dōm-*ern*, 'judgment-place'; hēdd-*ern*, 'store-house'; hord-*ern*, 'treasury'; slæp-*ern*, 'sleeping chamber,' etc., etc.

In O. E. Pl. Names.—*on þa Tigelærnan*, C. D., iii. p. 150, which Kemble says probably means 'lime-kilns,' C. D., iii. p. xvii, and perhaps in *on Ærnedene*, C. D., vi. p. 168 (1014).

It is possible that the element may occur in the following Mod. Engl. pl. ns.:—Tintern (?), Monm.; *Minterne Magna*, Dors.; *Askerne*, W. R. Yorks.; *Crewkerne*, Somers.

In the absence of early forms, however, it is doubtful.

Lancashire Name.—The early forms of *Hardhorn*, Poulton, rather point to this word as the second element. See, however, discussion under this name in Pt. I. above.

(1) **Æsc**, O. E., 'ash tree.' Mod. Fris. *esk*; M. Dutch *esche* O. H. G. *ask*; M. H. G. *asch*; O. N. *askr*.

In O. E. *æsc* is also used for a 'spear,' in poetry especially, and also for a particular kind of ship, such as was used by the Scandinavian invaders of England, and in imitation of them by King Alfred also (cp. A.-S. Chronicle, ann. 897. A. Text). In pl. ns. the word is a common element, always apparently meaning the tree, unless it be the pers. n. referred to below (2).

O. E. Pl. Names.—to *æscbeorge*, C. D., iii. p. 204 (984); æt *æschyrste*, C. D., ii. p. 204 (937); *æscwylles lace*, C. D., ii. p. 205 (937).

Mod. Engl. Names.—*Ashbury*, Berks.; *Ashdean*, Hants.; *Ashstead*, Surrey; *Eshton*, W. R. Yorks. Forms in *Ask-* may be of Scand. origin, though they are not necessarily so. The following probably are Scand.: *Askwith*, W. R. Yorks.; *Askrigg*, W. R. Yorks.; *Askham*, Notts.

Continental Forms.—Low Germ. *Ieskwert*, Friesl.; High Germ. *Ascherfeld*, Rhn. Prov.; *Eschbach*, Rhn. Prov.; *Esschental*, Bav.; O. Icel. *Eskiholt.*; Mod. Norw. *Eskelund*, *Eskevillen*.

(2) *Æsc*, a pers. n. This personage is named in the pedigrees of the A.-S. Chron. as a son of Hengist (e. g. under year 455). It is probable that this name is an element in several pl. ns. though it is not always possible to distinguish it from *Æsc* (1). In the following O. E. pl. n. the inflection of the element tends to show that it is really the man's name, and not that of the tree :—æt *Æscesbyrig*, C. D., v. p. 111 (856) ; in *Escesdune*, C. D., v. p. 41.

(3) O. E. **æsc* or **esċ*, cognate with Gothic *atisk*, is not found as an independent word, nor recognised as an element in English pl. ns. It appears, however, in Germ. dialects in the form *esch*, O. H. G. *ezzisc*, 'an unfenced in tilled field,' a sort of common land, as distinct from *Kamp*=private property. Occurs in many German pl. ns. Cp. Kluge, Etym. Wörterb. ; Jellinghaus, Westfäl. Ortsn., p. 30 ; Leithaeuser, Berg. Ortsn., p. 199.

Lancashire Names.—(It is impossible in many cases to say whether the prefix refers to the tree, or is a pers. n.) (1) fronted sċ :—Ash Gill Beck,Con. ; Ashbournes Garst. ; Ashurst's Hall, Wigan ; Ashlack Hall, Binf. ; Ashley, Rib., etc. ; pl. n. Ashton, Garst, etc. ; pers. n. Ashworth, Rochdale. (2) back sc :—Askam, Dalton ; ? Asmagh, Rib. ; ? Asmall, Liv. ; Escowbeck, Caton ; Eskam, Garst ; Eskrigge, Carnf. ; Esprick, Garstang.

Æsp, *æps*. O. E. 'aspen tree' ; O. Fris. *espe* ; O. H. G. *aspa* ; O. N. *osp*. (The adj. *æspen* also occurs in pl. ns.)

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Æpshangra*, C. D., vi. p. 33 (961) ; *Æpslēāge*, C. D., ii. p. 396 (Apsley, Suffolk), 963.

Mod. Pl. Names.—*Apse Castle*, Warw. ; *Asphill*, Suff. ; *Espley*, Northumb.

Continental Names.—Low Germ. *Espe*, Westf. ; *Espenhagen*, Westf. ; High Germ. *Asbach*, Baden ; *Espenheim*, Saxony ; *Espenschied*, Hessen-Nass ; Mod. Norw. *Asfelund*, *Espenes*.

Lancashire Names.—Aspull Moor, Wigan ; Esps, Ulv. ; Aspinall.

B

Bǣl, O. E., 'Fire, fire of funeral pile, funeral pile.' O. H. G. *bāl*, 'flame,' 'glow' ; O. N. *bal*, 'flame, funeral pile.'

Common in O. E. poetry as independent word :—

> Hæfde landwara lige befangen, *bæle* and bronde.
> Beow., 2321-2.
>
> *bæl* bið onæled.
> *Phœnix*, 108.

O. E. Pl. Name.—to *Bælesbeorge*, C. D., i. p. 209, Glos. (716); *Belesham*, C. D., iv. p. 245, Cambr. (Edw. Conf.).

Mod Engl. *Ball Mill* (Worcs.)=O. E. *Bæle*. Cp. Birch, 462 (851); 962 (1086). Quoted by Duignan, ubi Ball Mill.

Bale is used in Mod. Engl. Dial. in the sense 'blaze, flame, large fire, bonfire, signal of alarm' (Scotl. Nrth Engl. Staffs.). *Bale-hills* (Nrth. Cy. and W. Yorks) are 'hillocks on the moors where fires have formerly been' (E. D. D.).

Continental Names.—Low Germ. *Balhorn*, Westf. (= Leichenbrandwinkel ?, Jellinghaus, p. 53); High Germ. *Baalborn* ?, Pfalz; *Baalsdorf* ?, Sachsen.

Lancashire Names.—? Bailrigg, ? Balshaw.

***Balg,** **balh*, cp. *balge*, 'trough, a hollow in the ground, gutter channel,' in Westf. Pl. Ns. (Jellinghaus, p. 3), an der *Balge*, Waldeck. Perhaps the basis of *Ball* in Ball Mill (Worcs.), 'on a stream now called Grimley Brook.' Cp. Duignan, p. 11.

The German word may be cognate with Goth. *balgs*, 'skin bottle'; O. H. G. *balg*, 'bag'; Dutch *balg* (cp. Franck '*balg*,' and Kluge, '*balg*'). With these words O. E. *bylġ*, *belġ*, 'bag, bellows'; and Mod. Engl. *belly*, *bellows*. The original meaning seems to be something swelling, blown out. In a figurative sense this meaning exists in O. E. *belgan*, 'to be angry.' We may imagine for the substantive perhaps such a development of meaning as 'something swelled out, something round, something hollow, hollowed out, thus a hollowed-out piece of ground, a water course. On the other hand Germ. *balg* seems also to mean a 'swelling' of the ground. Cp. Leithaueser, p. 34.

O. E. Pl. Name.—(?) *Balgandun*, C. D., iii. p. 374 (704-9).

Some of the Lancs. forms seem to point to an O. E. *balg*, *balh* (vide early forms of *Ballam*, *Balshaw*).

With the above meaning of Germ. *balg*, cp. *Ball*, 'a knoll or rounded hill' in Somers. dialect (E. D. D.).

Bali, O. N., 'a soft, grassy bank, especially if sloping down to the shore,' Vigf.

Mod. Norw. *Bale* (pl. n.).

Lancashire Names.—? Bailrigg, ? Ballam.

Banc, O. E., 'a hillock, tumulus'; O. Fris. *banc*, *bouc*; O. Sax. *bank*; O. H. G. *banch*, *panch*; O. N. *bakkr*, 'bank of a river.'

Apparently not found in ordinary use in O. E. as an independent word. In Mod. Engl. dialect *bank* means 'hill, hillside, slope, precipitous rocks' (E. D. D.).

In Old Engl. Pl Names.—to *bænces byri*, Birch, iii. p. 187 (957), cit. Middendorf.

In the Mod. Engl. dialects *bank* has the sense of 'hill, slope, undulating ground,' etc. (E. D. D.).

Mod. Engl. Names.—*Bankhead*, W. R. Yorks.; *Buckabank*, Cumb.

Continental Name.—Low Germ. *De Steile Bank*, Guasterland, Qudersee; Norse. *Gilsbakki*. (Icel.); *Staðarbakki*; Mod. Norw. *Bjǿrkebakke*; *Grasbakke*.

Lancashire Names.—Bank End, Burnl.; Bank Ground, Hawks; Bank Sides, Cartm.; Bank Top, Bolt.; Bankfield, Poulton; Brow Bank, H'gh Sport; Broughton Bank, Bolt. and Cart.; Daisy Bank, Morcambe; Greenbank, B.-in-F.; Green Bank, Ribch.; Hollin Bank, Hawks.; Holme Bank, Dalt.; Horse Bank, S'port; Kents Bank, Grange; Kiln Bank (High), Con.; Madgell Bank, Rib.; Meal Bank Bridge, Wray; Mort Bank, Alv.; Moss Bank, Wigan; Pickup Bank, Blackb.; Pretty Bank Im., Burnl.; Red Bank, Carnf.; Sales Bank Wood, Stad.; Stewnor Bank, Dalt.; Stockabank Fur., Lanc.; Strawberry Bank, Grange; Sunderland Bank, Lanc.; Sunny Bank, Carnf. ? Tottle Bank, B.-in-F.; Wallbanks, Chip.; Windy Bank, Ross.

Bār, O. E., 'boar'; O. Sax. *bēr*(swīn); M. Dutch *beer*; O. H. G. *bêr*, *pêr*.

O. E. Pl. Name.—to *bares anstigon*, C. D., ii. p. 172 (931); *on bāres stigan*, C. D., v. p. 116 (863).

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Boarhunt*, Hants.; *Boarstall*, Bucks.

Continental Names.—Low Germ. *Berhorst*, Westf.='Eberhorst.' Cp. Jellinghaus, p. 167.

Lancashire Names.—Boar Bank, Cartm.; Boarsgreave Roch.

Bēacen, 'a beacon, sign, token, standard,' B. T., p. 69; O. Fris. *baken*, *beken*, *Feuersignal*, Richthofen, A. Fris., W. T., pp. 617 and 622; Mod. Fris. *beaken*, *bêken*, 'beacon,' Dijkstra., i. 88; E. Fris. *baake* (see Richthofen, loc. cit.); O. Sax. *bôcan*, Schade, i. p. 81; O. H. G. *poukhan*, *pouchan*; M. H. G. *bouchin*, *bouchen*, *zeichan signum portentum*, Vorbild., Schade, loc. cit.; O. N. *bakn*, 'season' (said to be a foreign word), C. and V., p. 54.

Lancashire Names.—Beacon Fell, Garstang; Beacon Tarn, Brought'n-in-F.; Becconsall, Hesketh.

Bēām, O. E., 'tree' in the sense of a living, growing tree, not a 'beam'; O. Fris. *bām*; O. Sax. *bōm*; O. H. G. *boum*.

This element may possibly exist in one or two Lancs. pl. ns., but even then it is doubtful (v. *Bamford*, *Bamfurlong*). *Trēō* (q. v.), 'tree' on the other hand is common; *Bēām* is certainly found in several O. E. pl. ns.; on *Bēāmbrōcan*, C. D., iii. p. 426 (948); to *Bēāmstede*, C. D., iii. p. 404 (Hants. 956); on *Bēāmleage*, C. D., v. p. 179 (910). None of these have been identified beyond a doubt.

Bampton (Dev.) ? appears as *Bēāmdun* in two MSS. of the A.-S. Chron., but Parker and Laud have *Bēāndūn*. Cp. Plummer's Ed., vol. i. p. 23 and Note.

Bam in *Bamborough* is from an old pers. n. *Bebban—Bebbanbyrig*, Chron. sub ann. 926; O. E. *Beamfleot* (Chron. 894) is Mod. Engl. *Benfleet*. Plummer's Ed., vol. i. p. 86.

Continental Names with *boum*, *bōm*:—*Grossenbaum*, Rhn. Prov.; *Ostersbaum*, Barmen; *Bongard*, Aachen.

Lancashire Names.—Bamford, Bury ?; Bamfurlong, Wigan. (See, however, early forms in Pt. I.)

Bearu, gen *bearwes*, O. E., 'a wood, grove of trees,' originally perhaps cognate with *beran*, 'to bear'; applied primarily to a grove of fruit-bearing trees (e.g. O. E. *æppelbearu*), which includes oak and beech. On this point see Leo, p. 103, etc., and Middendorf, p. 13.

The word does not appear to exist outside of O. E. except in O. N. *börr*, which Cl.-Vigf. explain merely as 'a kind of tree.'

Independent use in O. E.—*Se fugol of þæs bearwes bēāmegewīteþ*, Ph. 122.

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Bearwe=Barrow* (Glos.), C. D., i. p. 109 (716-43); æt *Bearwe*, C. D., i. p. 255 (Kent, 814); *Bearuwe=* Barrow-upon-Humber, C. D., iii. p. 101 (973).; *Barwe*, C. D., iii. p. 93 (972); in *Mapelesbaruwe* (=Mapleborough, Kent), C. D., ii. p. 6.

Note.—The O. E. *bearwe* forms are datives, and give rise to Mod. Engl. *-barrow*; this form has often been confused with *-borough* in Mod. and M. E. spellings. The Mod. names in *-barrow* of this origin are indistinguishable from these derived from O. E. *beorg* (q. v.).

The nom. would become M. E. *beare*, *bēre*, Mod. Engl. *-beare*, etc., cp. *Kigbeare*, Devon; *Loxbear*, Devon.

(1) ***Beord**, **beard*, O. E., cp. Westfäl, *börde*—'ein *b* ist ein Bezirk, ursprünglich Jurisdiktionskreis, im Gegensatz zu

seiner Stadt, von bören, Gefälle heben,' Jellinghaus, p. 4. J. mentions several places, *Börde*, *Borde* in Westf.

According to the above statement, assuming the *bard-* in Lancs. *Bardsea* to be cognate with *börde*, it would mean a district, or area over which a certain jurisdiction exists, for the laying of taxes, or payments of one kind or another. The O. E. verb *gebyrian*, ' to belong to, pertain to, be fitting,' would be a cognate of O. E. **beord*.

(2) Bosworth-Toller, under *Beordanig* (=Bardney, Lincs.) suggests that *beord=brid(d)*, ' a young bird,' with metathesis of *r*. On this word cp. remarks under *bridd*.

(3) It is conceivable that M. E. *Berd-* (cp. *Bardsea*) may be a shortened form of a pers. n. *Beored*. Cp. æt Beoredes treowe, C. D., ii. p. 428 (948). The full form Beorhred occurs in Birch, Ch., ii. p. 521 (A. D. 827).

Bec, *bæc*, ' brook, rapid stream,' O. E. ; O. Sax. *beki* ; M. Dutch, *beke* ; O. H. G. *pah*, *pach* ; Mod. Germ. *bach* ; O. N. *bekkr*.

Very rare in independent use in O. E., but cp. *in Coddan hrycges bece swa andlang beces* ; *to Bricgburnan fordes*, C. D., iii p. 461 (870). It seems only to occur in boundaries. Not uncommon in place names, or preceded by a word to designate a specific *beck*, e. g. *earna bæce*, Birch, loc. cit ; *heafca bæce* (*hafoca*), C. D., iii. p. 121 (975) ; *in cærsa bæce* ; *of ðæm bæce in þipan*, C. D., iii. p. 380 (770). Note, Kemble prints *bæt*, *bæte* in the text, but refers to the word in the passage, as *bæc* in vol. iii. p. xvii. Probably he read the O. E. *c* as *t* in the first instance, and saw the mistake too late to correct the text] ; *to Drægelesbæce*, C. D., v. p. 136 (King Alfred).

In Mod. Engl. names the word *beck* is now confined to the North, and in the surviving *becks* we have probably the Scand. word and not the Engl. *Beck*, ' brook, small stream of water,' is used to-day in Durh., Cumb., Westm., Lancs., Yorks., Norf., Suff., Sund. (E. D. D.).

CONTINENTAL NAMES.—Low Germ. *Allerbeck*, Westfäl. ; *Deitenbecke*, Westfäl. ; High Germ. *Eberbach*, Baden ; *Rohrbach*, Baden ; *Anspach* ? Scand. *Ilabæk*, Norw. 1334 ; *Dyrbæk*, and *Sandbæck*, Norw., present-day forms.

Professor Skeat has an interesting and valuable note on the suffix *beach* in his Cambs. Pl. Ns., pp. 44. 45, which has some bearing on the O. E. form *bæc*, referred to above. Professor S. is of opinion that *bec*, ' stream,' is always a Norse loan-word, and quite distinct from *bæċ*, which he takes to mean ' a valley or a

river bank.' He thinks that *bec* never occurs palatalised in O. E. or in any Mod. Engl. dialect, whereas *bæċ* is represented by *batch* as in *Pulverbatch*, Salop. With this he connects *Bæcceswyrth Batchworth* and the suffix *-beach* in *Wisbeach*, *Landbeach*, *Waterbeach*. He says 'it seems likely that the original sense of *beach* was a shore or river-bank, on which in some cases stones were deposited, giving it a secondary sense of pebbles or shingle.' Note forms *Stonenerubech*, *Ulvedalebech*, near Penington, Lanc., Cal. Ch. D. of L., No. 41, p. 166, 1189-1209; *Merebek* (Dalton in Furness), ibid., No. 144, p. 177, 1421.

Lancashire Names.—Above Beck, Wray; Artle Beck, Caton; Ash Gill Beck, Con.; Beck Pane Wood, Hawks.; Beck Side, Cart.; Beck Side, Stav.; Beck Side, Ulv.; Beck Stones, B.-in-F.; Beckthwaite Beck, Bork.; Black Beck, Stav.; Brant beck., Lanc. S.; Broughton Beck, Ulv.; Bryan Beck, Grange; Bulls Becks, Dalton; Cant Beck, Tunst.; Church Beck., Con; Colton Beck, Stav.; Cunsey Beck, Hawks.; Dale Beck, Roch.; Dragley Beck, Ulv.; Ellerbeck Hall, Chorley; Foxdale Beck, Caton; Grizedale Beck, Hawks.; Harterbeck, Roeb.; Hole Beck, Con.; Old Hole Beck, Ald.; Roosebeck, Ald.; Tarnbeck, Con.

Bellus, Low Latin, 'fair, beautiful.' The Old French spellings are *bel-*, *beal-*, *beau-*, etc. When this word is found in English pl. ns. in any form (e. g. *Belmont*, *Beaulieu*) it was probably introduced by a Norman landowner, who chose to name part of his English estate after a domain in Normandy. The word must not be confused with the Gaelic or Irish *Bel-*, *Bal-*, which is Celtic, and has no connection, whatever with the form under consideration.

Lancashire Name.—Beaumont.

Beonet, O. E., 'bent-grass,' also land overgrown with bent. E. Fris. *bente*; O. Sax. *binet*; O. H. G., *binuz*, *pinuz*; Mod. Germ. *binse*.

O. E. Pl. Name.—*to Beonetlegæ* (=*Bentley*, Hants.), C. D., iii. p. 113 (976); *at Benetleye*, C. D., iv. p. 268 (no date, but clearly M. E. in spelling); *Bentley*, Suff.; *Beonæt* in Hamtunscire, C. D., v. p. 176 (909).

Bent in the Mod. Engl. dialects has the same meaning as those given above for the O. E. word. It has also the sense of 'the slope or hollow of a hill' in the Nth. in Lancs. and Shrop. (E. D. D.).

Mod. Engl. Names.—*Bentfield*, Essex; *Bentworth*, N. Hants.; *Bentley* a name which occurs all over England.

CONTINENTAL NAMES.—Low Germ. *Der Bent* (name of lands in Detmold and Cloppenburg); *uppen Benthe*, 15th c. Westf.; *Rehbent*, Lippe; *Bentlage* (Paderborn, corresponds to Engl. *Bentley*); *Bentfeld*, Paderb., cp. Jellinghaus, pp. 2 and 3. Middendorf, p. 13, points out that the name *Bentinck* contains this element. High Germ.: *Binsfeld*, Bar.; *Binsdorf*, Wurtemb.; *Binzen*, Bav.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Bent Barn, Caton; Bent Laith, Nels.; Bentley Hall, Bolt.; Flass Bent, Nels.

Beorh, *beorg*, *berh*, etc., O. E., 'hill'; also 'grave mound'; O. Fris. *berch*; O. Sax. *berg*; O. H. G. *berg*; O. N. *bjarg*.

In frequent use as an independent word in O. E. in sense of 'hill'—e.g. *æt þæm beorge þe mon Athlano nemneð* (Oros. Sw., p. 10); in sense of funeral tumulus—*Worhton mid stanum anne steapne beorh him ofer* (Jos. vii. 26).

IN O. E. PL. NAMES.—It is rare as a defining word in compound names, but very common as a basal element (Middendorff, 13). *Baldheresberge*, C. D., i. p. 110 (Somers. 744); *to Ælesbeorge*, C. D., iii. p. 388 (898); *on blacmanne bergh*, C. D., iv. p. 8 (1019); *of ðare on braden bergh*, ibid.

In the Mod. dialects *bargh* (bɑ̃f) means a long, low ridge or hill, generally isolated (E. D. D.) (N. Cy. Yorks., Lincs.).

MOD. ENGL. NAMES.—Appears as *-bergh*, *-ber* in some names in North *Sedbergh* (N. R. Yorks.) from O. E. nominative; as *-barrow* in other names, from oblique cases, e.g. *-beorgum* (dat. pl.); probably also as *-borough* through confusion with O. E. *burg* (q. v.). *Berrow* (Worcs.), and *Bromsberrow* (Glos.) may also represent an oblique case, M. E. *berwe*. In *Aigburth* (Lancs.), (q. v.), O. E. *-beorh* has been confused with, and influenced in form, by *-wurþ* (q. v.). See, however, remarks under *Beorþ* below. The Continental forms are common in pl. ns. in all Gmc. speaking countries, e.g. *Heidelberg*, *Dillsberg*, etc. Outside England the word has the sense of 'hill' only.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Forms from nominative: (1) Aigburth, Liverpool (Old forms—*bergh*, etc.); Flookburgh, Cartmel. (2) Cringleber, Silverdale; Goodber, Roeb.; Scaleber, Tunst,; Standerber, Tunst. Forms from oblique cases: Alderbarrow, Nels.; Backbarrow, Stav.; Barrow, Catt.; Barrow Wood, Con. Barrow House, Hawks; Barrow Hollin, Grange; Barrow Nook, Ormsk.; Barrowford, Nels.; Barrow Bridge, Bolt.; Barrow Hall, Warr.; Birkland Barrow, Carm.; Burnbarrow Wood, Cart.; Cinderbarrow, Ulv.; Cringlebarrow Wood, Silverdale;

Gnit barrows, Silverdale; Goadsbarrow, Aldingham; Harts Barrow, Grange; Howbarrow, Cart.; Middle Mt. Barrow, Dalt.; Legbarrow Point, Ulv.; Raven's Barrow, Grange; Scarbarrow Hill, Hev.; Yew Barrow, Grange and Stav.

Beorht, *byrht*, *bryht*, *birht*, *briht*, O. E., 'bright, shining, clear'; O. H. G. *beraht*; Goth. *bairhts*; O. N. *bjartr*.

This word is also a common element (1st and 2nd) in pers. ns. e.g. *Byrhtnōþ*, *Brihthelm*, *Æðelbeorht*, etc. Therefore it is often difficult to decide, without a very full collection of the forms of a pl. n., whether the prefix *beorht-*, *briht-*, etc., is really the adjective meaning 'bright,' or a short form of a pers. n. which contained the word as a first element of the compound. The Mod. *Brighton* represents an old *Brihthelmestūn*.

All the pl. names in *Beorht-*, etc., in C. D. are apparently from pers. ns. except *Beorhtanwellan* (=*Brightwell*, Oxon.), C. D., iii. p. 400, etc.

Lancashire Name.—Breightmet.

Beorþ, O. E., ='resting-place, place of abode'? Cp. provincial *berth*, also the entry in a ch. of Edgar (976), *ðæt in on ðone to brocenæn beorð*, C. D., iii. p. 131.

This word is not found in the dictionaries (?). Were it not for the early spellings of *Aigburth*, we might suspect its presence as the second element of that name.

Berth in the Mod. Dial. has the meanings, 'position, settled home.' See, however, the word in N. E. D. and Skeat's Conc. Etym. Dic.

Bere, O. E., 'barley'; Goth. **baris*, cp. *barizeins*, 'barley,' adj.; O. N. *barr*.

In O. E. Pl. Names.—*on Bereforda*, C. D., iii. p. 394 (*Barford*, Warw.).

There are several names in *beran-* in C. D., one of which, at least, has given *bar-* in Mod. Engl., but this may=*bera* (wk.), 'a bear,' e.g. æt *Beranforða*, C. D., i. p. 197 (792, *Barford*, Beds.); æt *Beranbyrig*; there is also *Bereford* in the Oxfordsh. Doomsday (Facsimile, col. v. 3rd line from bottom), which apparently is the Mod. *Barford*.

Mod. Pl. Names.—*Barcot* (near Faringdon, Berks.); *Barlow* W. R. Yorks.

Beretun.—The independent compound *beretun* occurs in O. E. ='barley enclosure, courtyard, threshing-floor, corn farm, grange,' etc. (cp. B. T., p. 88). Roger de *Bertune* occurs in Crawf. Ch., xvi. 13 (1150, Norfolk, cp. Index).

'The *barton* and the *berewick* are settlements connected with barns for the collection of corn and other produce, with no special agricultural plots attached to them' (Vinogradof, Growth of the Manor, p. 224). Cp. remarks on *tūn* infra. Barton is naturally widespread as a pl. n. all over the country.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Barley Burn; Barlow Moor, Manch.; Barton, Bilsb.; Barley Bank, Wray.

Bereærn, *bern*, O. E., lit. 'barley place, barn.' See preceding word, and *ærn* ante.

INDEPENDENT USE IN O. E.—*Nabbaþ he heddern ne bern*, Lk. xiii. 24, Corpus MS.

MOD. ENGL.—*Barnfield* (Kt.).

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Barncroft, Wray; Barngates, Hawks.; Barnsfold, Ribch.; Howcroft Barn, Burn; New Barn, Fleetwood.

Berewic, O. E., lit. 'barley place.' An important appanage of the manor. Cp. Vinogradof's remarks on *Barton* quoted above.

'The expressions *berwick* and *herdwick*,' he says (p. 224), 'are indeed found commonly as subdivisions of manors, as subsidising centres for groups of holdings under manorial sway. . . . In many cases, the mansion itself may not mean more than a counting-house or storehouse, and there may be on the other hand a piece of demesne attached to the barton or the berewick.' Cp. below under *herdwic*.

Berwick is found as a pl. n. all over England, and this is natural enough from what Vinogradof says.

Seeing that the word is thoroughly English, it is strange that there are not more cases of it recorded in the O. E. period.

It is very common indeed in D. B.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Borwick, Carnf.

Birċe, *beorc*, O. E., 'birch tree,' adj. *birċen*, 'of birch'; Mod. Fris. *bjirk*; O. H. G. *piricha, pircha, bircha*; O. N. *bjork*.

The first O. E. form above is the most usual form of the word; it presupposes an earlier **birki-* and develops into Mod. Engl. *birch*. The second form presupposes earlier **berka-*, and would produce Mod. Engl. *berk-* or *bark-*. It appears as the name of a runic letter.

O. E. PL. NAMES.—of *biricgaran*, C. D., vi. p. 182 (c. 1020); on *Byrċmære*, C. D., vi. p. 4 (958); *Beorcham*, C. D., ii. p. 302 (*Barkham*, Berks, 952).

Mod. Engl. Names.—*Birchacre*, Worcs.; *Birchfield*, Staffs.; *Birchover*, Derby; *Berkeley*, Glos.; *Barkston*, Lincs.; *Birbeck Falls*, Westm. (Scand.); *Birkdale*, Westm. (Scand. ?); *Birstell*, W. R. Yorks (Scand.?).

Continental Names.—*Birkendorf*, Baden; *Birkenfeld*, Bav.; *Birchau*; *Berken*, Rhn. Prov.; *Berkenberg*, Westfäl.; *Leuchtenbirken*, Rhn. Prov.; *Barkhausen*, *Barkhorn*, *Barklage* [corresp. Engl. *Berkley*] (Westfäl., Jellinghaus, p. 2). Mod. Norw. *Björkaas*, *Björkeskog*.

Lancashire Names.—(1) Birchen Lee, Nels.; Birchley Hall, St. Hel.; (2) Birk Bank, B.-in-F.; Birk Knott, Stav.; Birkacre, Chorl.; Birkdale, Sport.; Birkrigg Common, Dalt.; Birkwray, Hawks.

Biscop, *bisceop*, O. E., 'Bishop'; O. Fris. and O. Sax. *biskop*; O. H. G. *piscof*, *biscof*; O. N. *biskup*.

In pl. ns. this element refers to a bishop's house, seat, or land, etc. Cp. use of *priest*, *monk* as elements.

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Biscopes uuic*, C. D., i. p. 104; *Biscepes land*, C. D., ii. p. 65 (855); *Bysceopes stoċe*, C. D., iii. p. 207 (984); *Biscopes dune*, C. D., iii. p. 366 (1016. According to Kemble, C. D. Index,=*Bishampton*, Worcs., but this is disputed by Duignan, Worcs. Pl. Ns., p. 20, on what appear to be insufficient grounds.) The word occurs compounded with *-hām*, in the sense of 'bishop's village, bishop's estate,' in the Will of Alfwold, Bp. of Crediton (1008-1012). See Crawford Ch., p. 23. Cp. also N. and S.'s note thereon, C. Ch., p. 132.

Mod. Pl. Names.—*Bishopsgate*, Surr.; *Bishopstone*, Suss.; *Bishopswood*, Heref.; *Bishton*, Staffs., cp. Duignan. Also perhaps *Bishampton*, Worcs.; and several other names beginning with *bis-*, *bish-*; cp. further *Bispham* among Lancs. pl. ns.

Continental Pl. Names.—Low Germ. *Bisskopswyk*, near Bekkaveen. High Germ. *Bischofferode*, Hessen-Nassau; *Birchofsburg*, E. Prussia; *Bischofswerde*, Saxony.

Lancashire Names.—Bishop Woods, Hawks.; Bispham. Poulton.

Blāc, *blæċe*, O. E., 'bright, shining'; O. Sax. *blēk*; Mod. Fris. *bleck*, 'pale, colourless'; O. H. G. *pleih*, *bleih*; Mod. H. G. *bleich*, 'pale'; O. N. *bleikkr*.

The adj. has been lost in Mod. Engl., though the verb '*bleach*' survives. The Mod. Engl. form of *blāc* would be **bloak*. Engl. *bleak* with a rather different meaning is a loan-word from *bleikkr*. The form *blæċe* probably survives in some pl. ns. with

Blatch-, *Bletch-*. O. E. pl. ns. in *blāc* are difficult to distinguish with certainty (cp. remarks under *blæc*). There are several names in *blæcan-*, *blæccan-* in C. D., but failing their identification with Mod. forms they are not decisive. Middendorf mentions a *blechemere* as containing *blǣċe*, but this is not an O. E. spelling, though it may be the same place which occurs C. D., iii. p. 394, as *Bleccan mære*. This form is inconclusive without a Mod. form in *Bletch-*.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names. — We probably have *blǣċe* in *Bletchley*, Bucks., and possibly in *Bletchington*, Oxfordsh.; *Blatchington* and *Blatchinworth* occur in Sussex.

Blæc, *blaca*, O. E., 'black, dark'; O. N. *blakkr*; also O. E. *blæc* (sub.); O. H. G. *black*, 'ink.'

The word is often used in pl. ns. in O. E. to designate streams, lakes, woods, valleys, etc. Cp. on this point also Middendorf, p. 15. The word is often indistinguishable in O. E. pl. ns. from O. E. *blāc*='bright, shining,' and apart from the Mod. development of the names, and the relative appropriateness of the terms in particular cases, there must always be some doubt as to whether O. E. *blac*, *blaca* should be taken as ='dark,' or 'bright,' when they occur in O. E. pl. ns. The adj. exists only in O. E. and O. N. In W. Gmc. *schwartz*, *swart*, 'black,' corresponds to 'blæc.' *Schwartz*, etc.=O. E. *sweart*, *swart*, 'black' (q. v.).

O. E. Pl. Names.—*blacan broce*, C. D., v. p. 99 (854); *blakeburneham*, C. D., v. p. 89 (Kt. 832); *of blacan dæne*, C. D., v. p. 217 (Hants. 934).

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Blackdown*, Kt. and Surrey; *Blockenhurst*, Worcs.; *Blackheath*, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Blackburn; Blackden, Roch.; Blackford, Bury; Blackgate lane, Tarleton; Blackleach, Garst.; Blackley, Bury; Blacko, Nels.; Blackrod, St. Hel.; Blacksticks, Chip.; Blackstone Edge.

Blǣse, *blēse*, O. E., 'blaze, flame, torch'; M. H. G. *blas*.

I am unable to produce any certain examples of the use of this word as an element in a pl. n. either in Engl. or other Gmc. tongues. I hazard the conjecture that it is the first element in Lancs. *Bleasdale*. *Brand* (q. v.) refers to the fire used in clearing land, and is applied to land so cleared. The *blaze* connected with such an operation may quite well have so impressed the imagination of those who saw it from afar, as to have served as a permanent appellation for the spot where the fire was burning.

The word *blaze* is used in Mod. Engl. dialects in various senses,

all, however, closely allied. (1) Fire ; (2) white mark on a horse's face ; (3) mark made by slicing off piece of bark from a tree. All these meanings are known to all educated people, and there is nothing particularly 'dialectal' about them. The fundamental idea seems to be 'something white like flame,' a white, obvious mark, whether caused by fire or otherwise. A scar on a hillside originally caused by flame might well be called a *blaze* long after the fire itself had been forgotten.

Blā(w), 'blue,' O. E.

A very rare form in O. E. which is only found in O. E. Texts, p. 588. The colour-words in old languages always present difficulties in determining their precise meaning. The O. N. cognate *blā-r* meant 'dark blue, livid,' and we may probably assign such meanings as 'dark, dusky' to the O. E. word. The O. E. cognate (with different ablaut) *blēō* was a sub. meaning simply 'hue, colour.' Presumably, Mod. pl. n, in *bla-* (=ble) are Northern forms from O. E. (or O. N.) *blā* ; those with *blō* Midl. or Sthn. forms of the same, while those which are derived from this root, and have the pronunciation 'blaw' (blō) are from the O. E. nom. *blāw* [itself formed on the analogy of the oblique cases (blāwe)], etc. through M. E. *blau-*.

The following names possibly contain this element :—

O. E. Names.—*Bladene*, Birch Ch., i. p. 320 (cit. Middendorf, p. 13).

O. N. Names.—*Blāskōgr*, Sturl. Saga.

Mod. Engl. Names.—*Blowick*, and Lancs. *Blawith* (q. v.).

[Note.—There existed also the adj. *blǣwen* in O. E., with *i*-mutation. It is possible that a form on the analogy of this **blǣ* may have existed, which would give rise to a Mod. **blee-*]

Blea Tarn (Cumb.) may be of this origin, though this might be simply a Nthn. form of *blā*. The word 'blue' must be from M. E. *bleu*, O. E. *blēāw-*.

Lancashire Names.—Blawith, B.-in-F. and Grange. Further —Blue Moor, Garstang ; Blue Pits, Rochd.

Bōl, O. N., 'reclaimed and cultivated land, a farm, abode,' Cl.-Vigf.

In Icel. *bōl* and *bǣli* denote the lair or lying places of beasts or cattle ; the place where sheep or cows are penned (Cl.-Vigf. under *bōl*). According to this authority *bōl* is common in pl. ns.—*Sæbōl*, *Bólstaðr*, etc. Possibly an O. E. *bōl* also existed, though it is not found as an independent word. This may be the element in *Booley* (N. Shropsh.). *Boylstone* (Derbysh.), may contain either the Engl. or Norse word.

Normally, O. E. or O. N. *bōl* would produce Mod. *bool-*, or in some dialects, *boil-*, *būil*. If the vowel were shortened in M. E. before the initial consonant of the second element, we should now get *bŏl-*, and this if lengthened again later would give *bole*, *boul* in pronunciation. Do some of the numerous *Boltons* contain this form ?

According to Cl.-Vigf. the Norse word is cognate with O. E. *botl*, and if this is so, it disposes of the possibility of an English *bōl*.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Boyle Snape, Ribch.

Börr, O. N., ' a kind of tree ' ; Cl.-Vigf., Edda. Gl., ' an arbour.' Bos.-Toller sub *bearu*. Cognate with O. E. *bearu* (q. v.).

Possibly the first element in *Burtree Ford* (Durh.), and in *Buertrekeld*, Whit. Ch., p. iii., note.

Bourtree (būr), ' elder tree ' is used in Scotl. ; (bōr) in Nthmb., Cumb., Westm., Lancs. (E. D. D.).

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Boretree Stile, Ulv. ; Boretree Tarn, Stav.

Botm, O. E., ' bottom, lowest part of anything, abyss, depth ' ; O. Sax. *bodme* (dat.) ; O. Fris. *boden* ; O. H. G. *podum bodem* ; O. N. *botn*.

The Mod. dialectal meaning of the word, as applied to a feature of the ground is ' hollow, valley, lowest part of a valley.'

O. E. INDEPENDENT USE.—*Satan on botme stod* (=the lowest depth of hell) ; *heo to fennes botme cōm*.

O. E. PL. NAME.—*Twigbutme del*, Birch Ch., i. p. 554.

MOD. ENGL. NAMES.—*Baggaby Bottom*, Yorks. ; *Crag Bottom*, W. R. Yorks.

CONTINENTAL NAMES.—Low Germ. *De Goudene Boatjem* ; *Bodenthal*, Westfäl. ; *Erleboden*, Waldeck ; H. Germ. *Grasboden*, *Kaltboden*. O. N. *Hafsbotnar*, *Trollabotnar* (=Polar Sea between Greenland and Norway). Mod. Norw. *Kjesebotn* ; *Spærrebotn*.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Backsbottom Fur., Wray ; Bottomdale, Carn. ? Bottom of th' Moor, Bolt. ; Bottoms, Ribch. ; Bottom Head, Roeb. ; Brook's Bottom, Rochd. ; Whitewell Bottom, Ross.

***Braca**, O. E., M. E. *brāke* ; Dutch *braak* ; H. G. *brach*.

The Dutch and H. Germ. words mean the breaking-up of land after harvest (cp. Kluge and Franck). Skeat (Etym. Dict.) gives bush as the meaning, and compares Low. Germ. *brake*, ' willow-bush ' ; he adds ' also stumps of broken trees, rough

growth.' Skeat thinks the sense 'fern' is 'modified from *bracken*' (q. v.). Middendorf under '*bræce, brece*' compares Mod. dial. *breck*, 'a piece of unenclosed arable land' from Wright, and quotes *pis brece* from a Ch. The expression *on fearn braca* occurs Birch Ch., ii. p. 295. There seems to be great confusion between separate words, i. e. O. E. **braca*='férn,' or some kind of rough bush, and O. E. **brece* ?='rough, broken ground.'

Kemble has *Bracconheal*, C. D., v. p. 277; and *Braceleage*—dat. (cp. Mod. *Brackley*, S. Northants.), C. D., iii. p. 13 (937).

Jellinghaus (Westfäl., O. N., p. 6) says *brake* in Westf. pl. ns. has nothing to do with the word meaning 'fern,' but means 'rough, uncultivated land.' If J. is right in saying that the word contains original long *ā*, it cannot be on all fours with the Engl. *brake*, which in this case ought to appear as *broak*, *broke*.

English '*brake*' may apparently mean either 'fern, bracken,' or may refer to the nature of the land. In Mod. Norw. *brake*='juniper,' and in Sw. dial. 'reed.' Cp. Aasen, p. 74.

Brake, according to Wright, besides meaning common bracken, means also 'copse, thicket, strip or piece of rough land covered with gorse, furze, etc. (Scotl., Northmb., Worcs., Shropsh., Glos., Oxf., Dors., Somers. and Devon). (E. D. D.)

Bracken, 'fern.' Skeat (Conc. Etym. Dic.) says this word is of Scandinavian origin. The O. N. form, however, is not found. It appears in M. E. *braken*, and a form *bräken* exists in Mod. Sw.

On the other hand the O. E. pl. n. *Braccanheal*, quoted above under *Braca*, may contain the element, and it may be a genuine Engl. word.

It is a fairly common element in Mod. Engl. pl. ns. in the North. Cp. *Brackenbar*, Westm.; *Brackenfield*, Derb.; *Brackenfoot*, W. R. Yorks.; *Brackenholm*, E. R. Yorks.; *Brackenthwaite*, Cumb. [Bracken may represent the O. E. adj. from **braca*. Cp. *oak—oak-en*, etc., etc.]

Lancashire Names.—Bracken Lea, Garstang; Brackenthwaite, Silverdale; Brackinscall, Poulton.

Brād, O. E., 'broad, wide, open'; O. Sax. *brēd*; O. Fris. *brēd*; Mod. Fris, *brie*; O. H. G. *breit, preit*; O. N. *breiðr*.

Very common element in pl. ns.

O. E. Names.—*bradanham*, Bradham, Berks., 956; C. D., v. p. 374; *bradan fleot*, C. D., iii. p. 179 (Hants., 980); *brādan mære*, C. D., vi. p. 221 (Worcs. 709); *Bradanfelda*, C. D., i. p. 34 (Berks., 690); *Bradanforda* (*Bradford*, Dorset, 705), C. D., i. p. 62.

Continental Names.—Low Germ. *Brewaet*, Friesl.; *Bredelar*, Westfäl.; *Bredenborn*, Westfäl.; H. Germ. *Breitenbrunn*; *Breitenfeld*; *Breitenhagen.*; Scandinavian Old Forms *Breiða-bolstaðr*, *Breiða-fjorðr* (Sturl. Saga); Mod. Norw. *Bröholt*, *Brevik*, *Bredegg*.

In Mod. Engl. names this element is very common, both as *broad-*, and *brad-*. The former represents an inflected form, O. E. *brāda-*, etc., or *brād-* before a vowel; the latter goes back to an uninflected O. E. *brād-* with shortening of *ā* before the *-d*, followed by another consonant, e.g. *Broadway*, *Bradfield*, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Unshortened form: (1) Broad Clough, Ross; Broad Halgh, Bury; Broadbent Moss, Oldh.; Broadfield, Blac'b'n; Broadgate, Garst.; Broadhead, Dar.; Broadith, Ribch.; Broadley, Rochd.; Broadoak, A.-u-L.; Broadcroft, Ribch.; Shortened form: (2) Bradley, Chip.; Bradford, Manch.; Bradkirk, Garst.; Bradshaw, Bolton: (3) Brathay (q. v.) Pt. I. contains O. N. *breiðr* in first element.

Brær, brēr, O. E., 'briar, bramble.' Not found, apparently, in the other Gmc. languages.

Independent Use in O. E.—*ġenim brēr, ðe hiopan on weaxaþ*, Lchdms., ii. 96, 15 (cit. Bos.-Toller).

O. E. Pl. Names.—*on brerhlæw*, C. D., iii. p. 82 (972); *on brērðyrnan*, C. D., vi. p. 221 (the Saxon boundaries of Ch. 61, vol. i. p. 70. This ch. is dated 709, but the language of the boundaries is obviously very much later).

Mod. Engl. Name.—*Brereton*, Staffs.

[Note.—Names in *Brier-*, which are far more frequent than those in *Brere-*, cannot be derived from O. E. *brēr-* without further explanation, any more than *briar* itself is from *brēr-*. Many of the *brier-* names were earlier *brēr-* names. The Mod. forms are substitutions.]

Lancashire Names.—Briercliffe, Nels.; Brierfield, Nels.; Brierleys, Clith.

Brand, *brond*, O. E., 'torch, brand,' also 'a flame, fire'; O. Fris. *brond, brand*; O. H. G. *brant*; O. N. *brandr*.

The word is applied in O. E. pl. ns. to fire used for the purpose of clearing land of bushes and scrub, and bringing it into bearing; then to the land itself which has been so cleared. Cp. Middendorff, p. 17.

The word occurs in Continental pl. ns. to forest land that has been cleared by fire (cp. Heilig, p. 67, *brand*, *brende*, also Leithaeuser, p. 188). In more modern names the element refers to tile and charcoal burning; ibid. and Jellinghaus, p. 7.

In O. E. Pl. Names.—*Brandune*, C. D., iv. p. 245 (a late ch. of the last Saxon Edward); *to þan brandan stane*, Birch Ch., ii. p. 462 (cit. Jellinghaus).

Continental Names.—Low Germ. *Brandenberge*, *Brandhorst*, *Brandkamp*, Westfäl.; H. Germ. *Bränd*, *Langenbrand*, Baden; *am Gebrannten*, Elberfeld; *Brandenberg*; *Brandenburg*; *Brandscheid*, Prüm.; *Brandswald*, St. Goar.

Mod. Engl. Names.—*Brand End Plot*, Lincs.; *Branderburgh*, Elginsh.; *Branderburton*. The name *Brandon* (=*Brand-dūn*) occurs in Northumb., Durh., Warw., Glos., and Norf.

Lancashire Names.—Brandrigg, Lancast.; Brand Wood Moor, Rochd.

Brant, O. E., 'high, steep.'

In the Mod. Engl. dialects of Nthumb., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., and Lincs. *brant* keeps its original meaning, and is applied to a hill (E. D. D.).

The cognate is also used in Norw. pl. ns. Cp. *Brantlökken*.

Lancashire Names.—Brantbeck, Lancaster; Brantwood, Hawks.

Brekka, O. N., 'slope.'

This word is cognate with English '*brink*,' which is not recorded in O. E., although it may have existed. M. E. *brink* may be a Scand. or Low Germ. loan. Cp. Swed. and Dan. *brink*, in the former language='descent of a hill,' in the latter, 'precipice'; M. Dutch *brinc*, 'edge of a field, grassland, edge of a hill, hill.' Cp. Franck under *brink*. There seem to be no O. E. names in '*brink*,' so we are pretty safe in considering it to be a loan-word. The element *-breck* in *Warbreck*, etc., and *-brick*, in *Scarisbrick*, etc. (q. v.), both in Lancs., are almost certainly from O. N. *brekka*. On the other hand, the *-breck* forms may be identical with the Engl. dial. *breck*, noted above under *brake*. But the origin of this word itself is not clear, and it may belong to the form we are considering, and not to those connected with *brake*. The Norse *Brekka* does not, of course, figure in pl. ns. of the O. E. period.

Scandinavian Pl. Names in *brekka*, *brekke*.—Old Forms: *Höfðabrekka*, *Vvenna brekka*, Sturl. Saga. Mod. Norw. *Langebrekke*, *Sandbrekke*, *Vandbrekke*.

Lancashire Names.—Green Breck, Lanc. S.; Breck Hos., Poulton; Esprick, Garst. ?; Flaybrick Hill; Harbreck House, Liv.; Kelbrick, Garst.; Kelbrick's, Fleetw.; Larbreck, Garst.; Lembreck Pnt., Cartm.; Limbrick, Riv.; Mowbrick Hall,

Garst.; Norbreck, Poult.; Norbrick, Lanc. S.; Scarisbrick, Liv.; Towbrick, Poulton; Sunbrick, Dalton; Swarbrick Hall, Blackp.; Warbreck, Poulton.

Brinc, O. E. See discussion under *Brekka* above.

The name *Brinkewrðа* (Brinkworth, Wilts.) occurs in a late ch. of 1065, C. D., iv. p. 107.

Continental Names.—*Steinbrink*, *Singerbrinck*, and *Spielbrink*, all Westfäl.

In the Mod. Engl. dialects *brink* means 'edge of a hill,' and 'bank by the side of a river' (Durh., Camb., Notts., Lancs., Leics., Nthants., Warwcs., Heref.).

Brōc, O. E., 'brook, rushing stream.'

The word is very common as an uncompounded form in the chs., and is well established in the old glossaries, where it is explained as 'latex, torrens,' and on one occasion is given as the alternative for the commoner literary word *burna*, '*burna oþþe brōc latex*,' (W. W.). The precise meaning in the Chs. is difficult to establish, but the word would seem usually to imply a running stream. On the other hand the cognates in the other Gmc. languages have a very different meaning. Dutch *broek*, M. Dutch *broec* means 'marshy land, morass,' and *brok*, in Westfäl., is a low-lying flat, covered with stagnant water, sometimes covered with scattered trees (cp. Jellinghaus, p. 8). In Frankish Saxony, *bruch*, *broich*, *brok* have such varied meanings as 'water-meadow, bog-land, bog, watery-land, island.' On the lower Rhine, the word means a low-lying flat, with water lying in it, and overgrown with wood (cp. Leithaeuser, p. 129). *Bruch* in literary Germ. (O. H. G. *bruoch*) means 'bog, marsh, fen.'

In the English dialects, e.g. Kent, and Sussex, *brook* means 'a water-meadow, pl. low, marshy ground, not necessarily containing running water or springs' (Wright, cit. Middendorff, p. 18). It would appear from all this that the ordinary meaning of *brook* is not original, and is confined to our own country, while the Mod. Engl. dialects, and probably also many pl. ns. in this country, retain, or originally retained, the word in its more widespread meaning. *Brookside* in Sussex is said by Middendorff to be a case in point. He quotes Lower's *Hist. of Sussex*, 1870, which states that 'brook is applied in Sussex, not to an ordinary rivulet, but to the marshes formed by the deposit of alluvium near the courses of rivers.' This meaning of *brōc*, *brook*, was pointed out already by Kemble, C. D., iii. p. xviii.

In Continental Pl. Names.—*Borkbrok*, *Ellerbrok*, *Stuken-*

brok, etc. in Westfäl. ; *Bruchhausen*, *Oberbruch*, etc., in Baden ; *Griesenbruck*, Düsseld. ; *Besenbruch*, Barmen ; *Karrenbroich*, Düsseld., etc., etc.

In Mod. Engl. *brook-* occurs very commonly both as a first and a second element in pl. ns., and need not be illustrated. It must be pointed out, however, that before the *t* of *-tūn* the *c* became *h* in late O. E. with the result that in M. E. a diphthong *ōu* developed, whence in Mod. Engl. the sound (ɔ). Thus the numerous *Broughtons* all over England appear to go back to *Brōctun*, through the forms **Brōhtun*, **Brōuhtun*, etc. Cp. *Brōctūn* in Index of C. D. and Duignan's remarks (Worcs. Pl. Ns.) under *Broughton* ; see also this name in same writer's Staffs. Pl. Ns., *Broughton*, and in Skeat's Hunts. Pl. Ns. The Mod. names with this element sometimes have *Brock-*, which implies an early (M. E.) shortening of the *ō* before the *c*, followed by the initial cons. of the second element. Cp. *Brockholes* in Lancs. This word occurs in a Ch. of 1046, C. D., iv. p. 10—'*of hole broc swa into broc holes*. (This, of course, does not refer to the Lancs. *Brockholes*, q. v. Pt. I. above.)

Lancashire Names.—Black Brook, St. Hel. ; Brockholme House, Lanc. ; ? Brookfoot, Burn. ; Brooklands, Bilsb. ; Brook Bottom, Ashton-u-Lyne, and Garstang ; Brookhouse, Caton ; Brookhouse, Clith. ; Brook Side, Clith. ; Brook Wood, Chip. ; Broughton ; Brown Brook, Chip. ; Car Brook, Mossley ; Cheesden Brook, Roch. ; Cocker Brook, Blackb. ; Deysbrook, Liv. ; Ditton Brook, Liv. ; Duddee Brook, Rib. ; Ellenbrook, Eccl. ; Hads Brook, Chipp. ; Luxley Brook, Oldh. ; Mellor Brook, Blackb. ; Radbrook, Burn. ; Tuebrook, Liv. ; Tun Brook, Rib. ; Savick Brook, Preston, N. W. ; Savick Brook, Rib., W. ; Swillbrook, Bilsb. ; Whittlebrook.

Brocc, 'badger.' Celtic loan-word in O. E.

It doubtless occurs in several Mod. pl. ns. beginning with *Brock-*, but this might equally well be a shortened form of *brōc-* (q. v.). O. E. *brochyll*, C. D., i. p. 97 (Worcs. 736), perhaps contains the name of the animal. Cp. Middendorff, p. 19.

Some Mod. names beginning with *Brock-* are derived from an old pers. n. *Brōcwulf*, or *Brōcheard* ; *Broxham* (Devon) appears as *Brōcheardes hamm* in Crawf. Ch., iv. l. 46, p. 7. The same name occurs in *Brocardes-cote* (D. B., Leics.), and *Brochardes ford*, Birch, iii. 588, 38. The name *Brōcwulf* (not recorded in O. E. by Searle) is found in the pl. n. *Broxtowe* (Notts.), one D. B. form of which is *Brocholvestow*. On these names, see Napier and Stevenson's note in Crawf. Ch., p. 70.

The Lanc. names in *Brock-* are of uncertain origin.

Brōm, O. E., 'broom, genista'; Dutch *brame*, 'thorn bush'; Mod. Fris. *bram-boas*, 'raspberry'; O. H. G. *brāmo*, *prāmo*, 'bramble'; O. E. *brēmel*, 'bramble,' is derived from this root=**brōm-ilo-*.

The Westfäl. *bram* has the same meaning as the Engl. word, and differs from the H. Germ. (Jellinghaus, p. 7).

O. E. Pl. Names.—*æt Brōmbrigce*, C. D., iii. p. 404 (Hants. 908); *Brōmgeheg*, C. D., i. p. 160 (Kent 778); on *brōmhyrste*, C. D., iii. p. 132 (Hants. 976).

Continental Names.—*Braam*, farm in Westfäl.; *Bransel*, Rhn. Prov.; *Bramstedt*, Hanover; *Brambach*, Anhalt.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Broomfield*, Cumb.; *Bromley*, Kt.; *Broomhall*, Chesh.; *Bromwich*.

Lancashire Names.—Bromiley, Riv.; Bromyhurst, Eccl.; ? Broom's Gill, Ulv. [cp. Whin's Beck]; Broomfield, High.

Brow (of a hill). The O. E. *brū*, 'the brow,' is not used in this sense, which appears to be Scandinavian. O. N. *brūn*, 'eye-brow,' it means also 'brow of a fell, moor,' etc., Cleasby-Vigf. See also *brūn* in Rygh (Norske Gaardn., iii. p. 46), where it is defined as a 'sharp slope.'

Lancashire Names.—Black Brow's Close, Hawks.; Brow Bank, S'port; Chauntry Brow, Wigan; Cinnamon Brow, Wigan; Eaves Brow, Wigan; Gateacre Brow, Liverp'l; Lythe Brow, Caton; Mere Brow, Ormsk.; Red Brow, Liv.; Seddon's Brow, Liv.; Brow Top, Bilsb.; Seattle Brow, Cart.

Brūn, O. E., 'brown.'

The precise shade of colour implied by this word in O. E. is doubtful. It is constantly applied in poetry to a sword, *brād ond brunecġ* (e.g. Beow., 1546)='brown of edge'; and to the sea—*sio brune yð* (Met. Boeth., 26, 29). The Ethiopians are called 'brown people,' *brune leode* (Exod. 70). In pl. ns. the element obviously means 'sombre, dark.'

O. E. Pl. Names.—*of brunan hylle*, C. D., iv. p. 179 (910).

Continental Names.—Friesland, *Brundyk*; *Brunsherne*.

Lancashire Names.—Brownedge, Preston; Brownlow, St. Helens; Brownsills, Clith.; Brown Howe, B.-in-F.; Brown Edge, Sthp'rt.

Bryċġ, O. E., 'bridge'; O. Fris. *bregge*, *brigge*; O. Sax. *bruggia*; Dutch *brugge*; O. H. G. *prucca*, *prucja*, *brucka*, etc.

Common element in O. E. boundaries; occurs fourteen times

in Hants. (Middendorff, p. 19). *Brōmbricg* (cit. above sub *Brōm*) ; *to Bricgburnan fordes*, C. D., iii. p. 461 (963). See list in Jellinghaus for additional examples.

Continental Names. — *Delbruck*, formerly in L. G. form *-brugge*; *Osnabruck*, earlier *-brugge*; *Rhebrugge, Bargebregge*; *Bregleat*, Friesl. H. Germ. *Behnbrucken, Hambrucken, Hagenbruck.*

Mod. Engl. forms are too frequent to need illustration.

Lancashire Names.—Skippool Bridge, Poulton ; Smithy Bridge, Littleb. ; Spook Bridge, Ulv. ; Thickelford Bridge, Bolton, etc., etc.

Burg, *burh*, *burug*, dat. *byrig*, O. E., ' fortified place, fortress, walled town, castle, town, city ' ; O. Fris. *burch*, *burich* ; O. Sax. *burg*, *burug* ; O. H. G. *burg*, *purg.*

Applied in O. E. independent use to Babylon (Oros., p. 74, Ed. Sw.) ; to Rome, constantly ; to London, e.g. Chron., 851, p. 64, Plummer's Ed. So common in compounded pl. ns. in O. E. and at the present time, that illustration is superfluous, but cp. Middendorff, p. 21, for O. E. examples. The name is used not only for important towns, but also for villages. The original meaning seems to have been a ' fortress,' or ' fortified place,' round which the village grew up. Cp. on the word, Kemble, C. D., iii. p. xix ; Leo, pp. 41, 42. *burg* is a common element in female names in O. E. e.g. *Eadburg*, q. v. under *Abram* in Pt. I.

It remains to be pointed out, that in Mod. names, the word appears as *Bur-* before consonants, e.g. *Burford*, O. E. *Burhford*, *Burley*, O. E. *Burhlēāh* ; *Burton*, O. E. *Burhtūn*, etc. ; as *-burg* (barə) or (brə), as *-borough* from *buruh*, now undistinguished in pronunciation from the preceding form ; and finally as *-bury*, *-berry* from the dative case *byrig.*

Lancashire Names.—Bury ; Cowbury Dale, Mossley ; Glazebury ; Littleborough ; Mossborough, Liv. ; Newburgh, Liv.

Burna, *burne*, O. E., ' brook, stream, river,' implies running water ; O. Fris. *burna* ; O. H. G. *prunno, brunno* ; O. N. *brunnr.*

O. E. Independent Use.—*Hefe up þine hand ofer call þæt flod, and ofer burna, and ofer moras*, Exod. viii. 5.

In Mod. Engl. dialects, *bourn* (in Herts., Kt., Surrey and Wilts.) means ' an intermittent stream ; a valley between the chalk hills, generally applied to the valley and the stream jointly.' In the Nth. and in Scotland, *burn* simply means ' stream, brook.' Cp. Middendorff, p. 21, who also gives long list of O. E. pl. ns. containing this element, and Wright (E. D. D.).

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Burne*, *Burnan* are fairly frequent, by themselves in C. D. (cp. Index), also—*oð æscburnan*, C. D., i. p. 258 (814) ; *to burnes stede*, ibid. ; *on bromburnan*, C. D., v. p. 84 (826).

O. E. **brynn* is mutated form of *brun-*, with metathesis.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Bournmouth*, *Eastbourne*, etc.

Continental Names.—The form *born* prevails in Saxony, as in the Netherlands. In Germany, *born* is Frankish, *bronn* Allemannish and Thuringish. Northern Hesse has *born*, and this form stretches southwards to the Taunus (Jellinghaus, p. 5). *Blindenborn*, *Derborn*, *Eschborn*, *Paderborn*, *Subbern* (=*Sutheborne* in 1288), etc. in Westfäl. ; *Breitenbronn*, *Keltenbrunn*, *Kieselbronn*, Baden. Cp. Heilig, pp. 15, 16.

Lancashire Names.—Blackburn, Brindle ; Brun (River), Burnley ; Burnden, Bolton ; Burn Edge, Rochd. ; Burn Hall, Fleetw. ; Burn Knotts, Stav. ; Long Burn, Blackb. ; Burn Moor, Con. ; Burnbarrow Wood, Cart. ; Burnley ; Burnslack Fell, Chipp. ; Chatburn, Clith. ; Chelburn Moor, Littleb. ; Golborne, Wig. ; Greenburn, Con. ; Hyndburn Br., Blackb. ; Roeburn (River) ; Roeburndale.

(1) **Butte,** O. French, ' a small mound.'

(2) **But,** French, ' a target.'

E. D. D. gives under *butt(s)*, ' ground appropriated for archery ; earthen mounds used for archery practice ' (Scotl., Cumb., Yorks.).

There seems to be a confusion or blending of both words in the latter definition.

Lancashire Names.—Buttsbury, Butts Green ; Buttyetts, Wray ; Butt Hill, Garstang ; Goose butts, Clith.

Bygg (Scand. O. N.), ' barley.'

Occurs in Sturl. Saga in the pl. n. *Byggholm*. Possibly present in *Biglands* (Cumb.).

Bigg is used for ' a coarse kind of barley ' in Scotl., Shetl., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Derby, N. Lancs. (E. D. D.).

Lancashire Names.—Bigland Hall, Cartm. ; Bigthwaite.

Bȳ-(r), Scandinavian ' town, village.' According to Cl.-Vigf. (under *bær*), the Icelandic form is *bær*, the Norw. *bö*, Swed. and Dan. *by*.

This suffix in a pl. n. is a sure sign of a Danish settlement, as the word does not exist in O. E.

The suffix occurs twice in a Lincs. Ch. dated 833, but obviously, as the spelling of the English names shows, a post-Norman copy

at any rate, (C. D., No. ccxxxiii.)—*Badby*, C. D., i. p. 306; *Kyrkeby*, ibid. Cp., however, *Baddanby* in a Ch. of 944, Birch, ii. p. 542, which has all the appearance of being genuine. Other names with this ending occur in eleventh century Chs.—*Ormisby* (Norf.), C. D., iv. p. 295; *Houcbig*, C. D., iv. p. 289 (c. 1086); *Kytlebi*, *Willabyg* (same vol. and page), all in Leics. and Lincs. *Deoraby* (Derby) is found in A.-S. Chron. ann. 917, C. Text, Plummer's Ed., p. 101.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names in *-by* are very frequent in Nth. and Midlands. In many cases the first element of the name is also, unmistakably Scand., e. g. *Kettleby*, *Asgardby*, *Ormsby*, *Kirkby*, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Breastby Haw., Ulv.; Crosby, Liv.; Derby West, Liv.; Formby, Liv.; Hornby, Wray; Ireby, Tunst.; Kirkby, Liv.; Nateby, Garstang; Ribby, Kirkham; Roby, Liv.; also Nibthwaite=(*þornby þveit). Cp. early forms in Pt. I. above.

Bȳre, O. E., 'dwelling, shed, cattle shed.'

The word is found as an independent word in the Corpus Glossary, 1292 and 1294, where it glosses 'mapalia and magalia.' Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 274, gives a Mod. Engl. pl. n. which contains the element and its O. E. equivalents—*Chalkbyre* (Kt.), O. E. *ċealcbyras*, further O. E. *Crangabyrum*, *Thorningbyre* (Kt.), O. E. *Thorningabyra*. The word is a mutated form of O. E. *būr*, 'dwelling, bower.' J. says it is widespread in Lower Germany and the Saxon provinces of Holland in the forms *büren*, *bere*, *beer*, in the sense of a separate dwelling. See examples of this in Jellinghaus, Westfäl. Ortsn., p. 8.

In Scotland, Lindsay 'of the Byres' was an honourable appellation.

Lancashire Name.—Byrom.

C

Cāld, O. E., 'cold'; O. Fris. *kald*; O. Sax. *cald*; O. H. G. *kalt*, *chalt*; O. N. *kaldr*.

O. E. Pl. Names.—*to caldan wellan*, C. D., iii. 246; *oþċealdan hlinc*, Crawf. Ch., iv. p. 7, l. 45 (930).

Continental Pl. Names.—Frisian *Kaldehoal*, *Kaldehusen*. Westfäl. *Callenhardt*, *Kallenbeck*. Rhn. Pr. *Kaltenbach*, *Kaltenborn*. Baden: *Kaltbrunn*, *Kaltenberg* (Bav.), *Kaltendorf* Pr. Sax.).

Lancashire Names.—Coldcoats, Chip.; Coldshaw Booth, Burnl.; Cold Row, Fleetw.

Catt, O. E. ' cat ' ; O. Fris. *katte* ; O. H. G. *cazza, chazza.*

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Catleage*, C. D., v. p. 401 ; *Catham*, C. D., vi. p. 12 (958) ; *Catmere*, C. D., iv. p. 66 (1042).

Continental Pl. Names.—*De grouwe Kat* (Farm r Arun, Friesland ; *Katsyl*, Friesl. ; *Kattenburch* ; *am Kattepol*, Rhn. Prov. ; *Kattenvenne*, Westfäl. ; *Katzepol*, Düsseldorf ; *Katzenbach*, Rhn. Prov. ; *Katzensteig*, Baden ; *Katzbach*, Silesia.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Catley*, Heref. ; *Catmer*, W. Essex ; *Catmore*, Berks. ; *Catsfield*, E. Sussex.

It is very doubtful whether all these English names refer to the animal. *Catt* was an O. E. pers. n., and existed as such also in O. N. For examples of pl. ns. which probably contain this pers. n. cp. *Catlow* and *Catterall* above. On the other hand the animal certainly figures in the interesting name *Wilde Katteheges* in the Cambs. Pedes Finium, p. 275.

Lancashire Names.—Cat Bank, Con. ; Catforth, Garst. ; ? Catlow, Nels. ; Catley, Rochd. ; ? Catshaw, Wyres. Perhaps pers. ns.

Ċēāp, *ċēp* (1), ' sale, bargain, business, market ' ; O. Fris. *kāp* ; O. Sax. *kōp* ; O. H. G. *kouf, chouf.*

Connected with the above O. E. word, there are a number of others, several of which occur as elements in pl. ns. (2) *Ċēpa*, ' merchant ' ; (3) the verb *ċēāpian, ċēpan*, to bargain, to trade, sell ' ; (4) *ċēping*, ' traffic, marketing,' and thence ' a market-place ' ; (5) *ċēāpmann*, ' merchant, chapman.'

O. E. Pl. Names.—*andlang cypstræte*, C. D., vi. p. 135 (996) ; *Chepstede*, C. D., ii. p. 193 (dated 933, but spelling with *ch* shows document must be a much later copy) ; *on cypmanna* [del], C. D., v. p. 48 ; *chypmannaford*, C. D., iii. p. 431 (dated 949, see vol. ii. p. 298). A name, to *Cyppan hamme* occurs in the boundaries of a Ch. of the eighth century, C. D., iii. p. 385= *Chippenham*, Wilts., and also in Crawf. Ch., p. 7 (dated 939). Napier and Stevenson in their note on this name (p. 73) are of opinion that the element here is a pers. n.—*Ċyppa.*

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—There are numerous *Chippings* outside Lancs., e.g. *Chipping Camden*, Glos. ; *Chipping Norton*, Oxon. ; *Chipping Sodbury*, W. Glos., etc., etc. Further *Chipstead*, Kt. ; *Chepstow* (=either O. E. *cēpan-*, or *cēp-*) ; *Chepstead* (another form of *Chipstead* above).

Lancashire Names.—Chipping Lawn. (Chippendale probably contains a pers. n. See this name in Pt. I. above.)

***Cēfer**, O. E. ' pine tree.'

I am led to reconstruct this O. E. form by the early forms of the Lancs. pl. n. *Cuerdale* (q. v. Pt. I.), *Keverdale*, etc.

High Germ. has a word *kiefer*, ' pine tree,' used since the sixteenth century. This appears to be a form of the compound *kien fohre*, ' pine fir.' It appears that there is a Silesian dialect form *Kienfohre*, an East Frankish *Kimfer*, and Nth. Bohemian *Kinfer*. So far Kluge (Etym. Wörterb. sub *kiefer*). Now if we go a step further, and assume **kēnfuhri-* to be an old compound, we should get in O. E. first **kēnfur(i)<* then **cē(n)fer* with loss of *n* before *f*. Thus O. E. **cēfer* from **cēnfer* would be a disguised compound. The High Germ. *Kiefer* must be borrowed from a Low. Germ. dialect.

Lancashire Names. — ? Cuerdale, ? Cuerden, Preston ; ? Cuerdley.

Chel-

The origin of this prefix is ambiguous. It may be (1) from O. E. *ċeole*, ' throat ' ; Dutch *keel* ; O. H. G. *kela* ; Mod. Germ. *kehle*. Middendorff suggests the further meaning ' narrow valley ' for this word (cp. p. 26), a sense which it has in the Germ. pl. n. *Kehlheim*, on the Danube. This is perhaps the element in *to ceolan heafdan*, C. D., iii. p. 462 (cit. also Middendorff from Birch).

(2) *Ċeol*, ' a ship ' (always, in O. E., in independent use), but perhaps also ' keel,' whence ' ridge ' when applied to geographical features. Middendorff makes this suggestion, and cites *to ceoles cumb*, cp. C. D., iii. p. 455, as a possible example of this element.

(3) The O. E. pers. n. *Ċēōla* is common, and a form *ċeolla* is found in L. V. (cp. Müller, §13, *b*.). The former, one would expect to produce **Cheel-* in Mod. Engl., but the latter would become *Chel*. *Cēōl-* is also a first element in several O. E. names, e.g. *Cēōlbald*, *Cēōlbriht*, *Ċēōlmund*, *Cēōlwulf*. *Chel-* might be the shortened form of any of these, the shortening of the vowel being due to the consonant of the second element following the *l-*. (4) *Chel-* might represent an O. E. (non-W. S.) *ċele*, ' cold, chill.' Many of the O. E. names beginning with *ceol-*, etc., are themselves of doubtful origin, but failing any O. E. forms, it seems impossible to arrive at a definite decision regarding the origin of Mod. pl. ns. in *Chel-*.

Examples of O. E. pl. ns. which either do or might develop *Chel-* or *Chil-* in the Mod. forms :—*Celicot* (*Chilcot*, Somers.), C. D., iv. p. 164 (1065) ; in *Chelleurða*, C. D., iv. p. 166 (*Chel-*

worth, Wilts., 1065); *ceolan hyrst*, C. D., iii. p. 216 (Kent 939).

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Chelburn Moor, Littleb.

Ċirċe, O. E., 'church'; O. Fris. *kerke, sziurke, tsiurike*; O. Sax. *kirika, kerika*; O. H. G. *kiricha, chirihha*, etc.

IN O. E. PL. NAMES.—*Cyricestun*, C. D., iv. p. 78 (825); æt *Hwītan cyrican*, C. D., ii. p. 114 (880, Dorset ?).

IN CONTINENTAL NAMES.—*Aldtsjerk, Readtsjerk*, Friesland. H. Germ. *Bergkirchen*, Westfäl.; *Sudkirchen*, Westfäl.; *Kirchheim*, Baden; *Kirchberg*, Baden. Mod. Norw. *Kirkeby, Kirkerud*.

Many pl., ns. in Nth and Nth. Mdlands have the element *kirk* instead of *church*. *Kirk* may always be taken as Scandinavian.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—(1) Church Clough, Nels.; Church Scar., Lytham and Oldham; Churchtown, Poulton. (2) Kirkby, Kirkdale, Liverpool; Kirkham, Kirkland Wood, Garstang; Bradkirk, Garstang; Ormskirk.

Clæġ, O. E., 'clay, mud, slime'; M. Dutch *cleie*; Mod. Dutch *klei*; H. Germ. *klei* is a Low Germ. loan-word.

O. E. cognates are *clām*, and with much the same meaning, Mod. dial. *cloam*; also the verb *cleofian*, 'cleave, adhere.' Outside Gmc. the root is found in Gk. γλοιός, 'sticky, moist,' Lat. *glūs* (=*glūt-s*). The original meaning of *clay* then, is 'that which sticks or clings.'

IN O. E. PL. NAMES.—on *clæġbrōc*, C. D., vi. p. 52 (Worcs. 962); *of westbroce in clæġwyllan, of clægwyllan in—*, etc., C. D., iii. p. 80 (Worcs. 972). Middendorff further quotes *clæġ weġ*, Birch., 1282, *clæġhyrst*, 887, ibid.

MOD. ENGL. PL. NAMES.—*Claydon* is a common pl. n., and is found in Oxon., Berks., Suffolk; *Clayton* is even more frequent, and is found in Lancs., Staffs., Sussex, Yorks.; *Claythorpe*, Lincs. and Westm.; *Clayhanger*, Devon, Staffs., Chesh.; *Claypole*, Lincs.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Clay Lane Head, Garstang; Clayton, Preston; ? Clegg, Littleb.

Cleofa, 'slope, chasm, den, cell, chamber.' M. E. *clēve*.

Perhaps in *Clevedon* (Somers.), *Cleveland* (N. R. Yorks.), and *Clevewade* (Worcs.). For the last-mentioned, Duignan gives as earlier forms (generally without any references) *Clyvelode* (1275, Subsidy Rlls.); *Clivelade* (1300), and *Cleveloade* (1595). The

last of these is the type from which the Mod. form is derived, and it might equally well be from either the present, or the preceding word.

Wright, under *Cleeve*, gives 'steep side of a hill, sloping ground, a small ravine, a cliff.' The word as an independent element seems to be confined to the south-west of England.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Cleveley Bank, Garstang; ? Claife, Hawks.

Clif, O. E., 'cliff, rock, steep descent, promontory'; O. Sax. *clif, clep, -chlep*; O. N. *klif*.

IN O. E. PL. NAMES.—æt *Clife*, C. D., p. 181 (769); *Biccenclife*, C. D., iii. p. 4; to *pioles clifan—andlang pioles clifes*, C. D., iii. p. 82 (972).

[NOTE.—The oblique cases of this word are *cleofa, cleofum*, etc. in O. Mercian. These forms in M. E. give *clēve*, whence Mod. Engl. *cleeve*, etc. These forms are indistinguishable from those which arise from the preceding element, q. v.]

CONTINENTAL PL. NAMES.—Low Germ.: *It Reade klif, Reaklif, Klifrak*, Friesland; *Clef*, near Elberfeld; *Klefberg*, Rhn. Prov.; *Hahnen Klee, Rothen Klee*, Harz country. H. Germ.: *Rabenklippe, Silberklippen, Steinklippe*.

MOD. ENGL. PL. NAMES.—*Arncliff*, W. R. Yorks.; *Clifford*, Heref.; *Cotcliff*, N. R. Yorks.; *Rawcliffe*, W. R. Yorks.; *Rockcliffe*, Cumb.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Aldcliffe, Lanc.; Ancliffe Hall, Carn.; Baycliffe, Dalton; Briercliffe, Nels.; Castle Cliff, Nels.; Funscliffe, Blackb'n.; Montcliffe, Wigan; Oxcliffe, Morec.; Radcliffe, Bury; Rawcliffe, Garst.; Rockcliffe, Roch.; Scartcliffe, Black.; Stonycliffe, Bury; Thorncliffe, Roch.

***Clōh**, O. E., 'clough, a ravine, chasm, narrow glen, deep, wooded valley' (Wright, E. D. D.). The above O. E. form from which *clough* would naturally develop stands for Gmc. **klanh*, cognate with Fris. *klinge*, 'hill'; Dutch *klinge*, 'hill'; O. H. G. *clingo, klinge*; Westfäl. *klinge*, 'valley, moist place near a river' (Jellinghaus, p. 86).

The above etymology of *clough*, undoubtedly the correct one, was first proposed by Mayhew, Academy, Aug. and Sept. 1889. Middendorff, p. 27, mentions the element *clāh-* in O. E. which he finds in *wiþ clāhgraues*, Birch, No. 499, ii. p. 105 (860), which Ch. is also printed in C. D., ii. p. 68. The boundaries belonging to this Ch. are to be found in C. D., iii. p. 395, at which place *clāhgraues* occurs. It is, however, impossible to identify this

form, as Middendorff does either with the Continental *klinge*, etc. or with Mod. Engl. *clough*, since **klanh* can only give O. E. **clōh*, and the latter alone could develop into *clough*.

I have found no example of *clōh-* in the O. E. Chs.

CONTINENTAL PL. NAMES.—*De Klinge*, Friesl.; *Aufder Klinge*, Lippe; *Der Klingen Kamp*, Hesse-Nassau; *Klingenberg*, Saxony; Förstemann gives *Dreschklingen*, *Kuhklingen*.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Bowerclough Hd., Mossley; Broadclough, Ross; Church Clough, Nels.; Clough, Littleb.; Clough, Oldh.; Dry Clough, Nels.; Clough Fold, Ross; Higher Clough, Nels.; Lower Clough, Nels.; Clougha Cottage, Nels.; Clougha Pike, Caton; Clougha Scar, Caton; ? Clows Br., Garst.; Dean Clough, Clith.; Deep Clough, Caton; Deer Clough, Wyres.; Fairclough, Rib. W.; Fox Clough, Nels.; Gallows Clough, Wyresd.; Gavells Clough, Wyresd.; Gilvert Clough, Nels.; Greave Clough Hd., Garst.; Harper Clough, Blackb.; Houghclough, Chipp.; Inchaclough Br., Wigan; Lambing Clough, Clith.; Love Clough, Ross; Mere Clough, Ross; Oakenclough, Garst.; Ogden Clough, Burnl.; Pilsworth Cough Mill, Bury; Rams Clough, Chip.; Ratten Clough, Burn.; Tarnsyke Clough, Wyres.; Thrush Clough, Wyres.; Shawclough, Roch.; Siss Clough, Ross; Stone Clough, Bolt.; Sweet Clough, Nels.; Wallclough, Chip.; Windy Clough, Caton; White Stone Clough, Chip.; Clow Bridge, Fleetw.

Clos, *cloos*, 'an enclosed place, field,' M. E. from O. Fr. *clos*, p. p. of *clore*, Lat. *claudere*, p. p. *clausum*. Cp. Skeat, Conc. Etym. Dict.

In the Mod. dialects *close* means 'an enclosed place fenced in' (Scotl., Nthmb., Cumb.), and 'an enclosed field, generally of pasture land, a small field near the house' (Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., Derby, Notts., Lincs., Rutl., Leics., etc., etc.) (E. D. D.).

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Close House, Blackb.; Hodge Close, Con.; Salter Close, Scar Close, Silverdale; Water Close, Stav.; West Close Brook, Burnl.

Cnæp, *cnæpp*, O. E., 'top, cop, vertex.'

B.-T. refers to two passages from the O. E. Old Testament which illustrate the use of this word:—Uppan ðæs muntes *cnæp*, Exod. xix. 20; Hig astigon to ðæs muntes *cnæppe*, Num. xiv. 44.

Wright, under *knap* gives (1) 'protuberance, knob,' (2) 'a small hill, mound, knoll, hillock, brow or top of a hill.' He

further appears to identify *knape* with *knab* or *nab*, and under this word gives—'summit of a rock or hill, steep hill, abrupt termination of a hilly range; rocky headland or promontory.' I have only two references to the use of the word in pl. ns. in O. E., *Effingknap*, C. D., vi. p. 236 (dated 963, but probably about twelfth century), also in Birch, iii. p. 338; and *Mappilleknap*, Birch, ii. p. 438, dated 938, but as Mr. Alexander tells me, to whom I owe this reference, 'obviously at least as late as the eleventh century.'

In Mod. Engl. Pl. Names we have—*Knap Castle Hill*, Surr.; *Knapthorpe*, Notts.; *Knaptoft*, Leics., etc.

Lancashire Names.—Cross napend.

***Coc-**, O. E.

Middendorff explains this element to mean, 'gurgel, schlund, schlucht.' The first of these words means 'throat,' which is the meaning of O. N. *kok*, with which M. identifies the Engl. word. The other two mean, 'ravine, glen, chasm, valley between hills,' etc. Napier and Stevenson in their note to *coccebyle* (Crawf. Ch., p. 115) remark:—'*Cock* is not uncommon as the first part of local names, generally on or near hills.' There is nothing beyond conjecture to confirm Middendorff's explanation, which may nevertheless be correct. It is not overstepping the limits of possibility to assume that a word which originally meant 'gullet' could, when applied to geographical features, come to mean, a narrow gorge, or valley. For other similar applications of the names of parts of the body to land cp. *tongue, neck, head, how.*

On the other hand *cock-* (from *cocca-*), as N. and S. point out (loc. cit.), may sometimes be a pers. n. Again it may occasionally simply be the name of the bird (gallus).

Examples from O. E. Charters.—Up on *Coccan burh*, C. D., iii. p. 385 (769-785) (probably pers. n. here)=*Cockburg*, Glos. (Kemble); *cocbroc*, C. D., iv. p. 198 (931, Berks.). Middendorff cites the latter from Birch, and also from same source—*coc rōd*, No. 969; *cockes ðorn*, No. 708; *to weg cocce*, No. 762.

Lancashire Names.—Cockden, Nels.; Cock Leach, Nels.; Cochleach, Rib.; Cockley Beck, Con.; Cockridge, Nels.; Cockshades Hill, Lanc.; Cockshotts Wood, Wray; Cocktakes, Ulv.

Cop, cp. Fris. *kop*; O. N. *koppr*; H. G. *kopf*.

Mod. Engl. dial. *cop*, 'head, top, summit, hill, peak, crest.' Also used in N. E. Lancs. as a '"hedge-bank"' (Wright).

In O. E. Pl. Names.—*Coponora* (Copnor, Hants.), C. D., v. p. 49 (760) ; *Coppanege*, C. D., iii. p. 160 (977).

In Continental Names.—L. G. : *Heikop*, Friesl., perhaps also *Francop*, Westfäl. H. G. : *Auerkopf*, Barmen ; *Viehkopf*, Westfäl.

Lancashire Names.—? Bacup, Ross ; Gorsey Cop, L'pool ; Copp, Garstang, S.-W. ; Coppul, Chorley ; Cross Cop, Morec ; Pickup.

Corn, O. E., 'corn, grain, seed' ; O. Fris. *korn* ; O. Sax. *corn* ; O. H. G. *korn*.

In O. E. Pl. Names the prefix *corna-* is found in several names—*corna brōc*, *corna wudu*, *corna lið*, which all occur in the boundaries of a late Ch., C. D., iv. p. 287, and which correspond to the present day Worcs. pl. n. *Cornbrook*, *Cornwood*, *Cornlyth*. It is argued by some that the prefix here has nothing to do with O. E. *corn*. Cp. remarks under *Cornbrook*, etc. in Duignan, Worcs. Pl. Ns. ; cp. also Middendorf, under *corn*, who suggests that the element may be Celtic *corn*, 'winkel, ecke,' or even from *cweorn*. The latter idea appears to me very improbable. I see no reason why in *Cornbrook*, *Cornwood*, at any rate, we may not assume to Engl. word *corn* to be the origin of the first element.

In Continental Names *Kornan*, *Kornboon* (Westfäl.), *Kornberg* (Hesse-Nassau) occur, and among H. G. *Kornbach* (Bav.), *Korntal* (Würtemb.).

In Engl. Pl. Names though there is certainly some doubt as to the origin of the element in some cases, we can hardly hesitate to ascribe *corn-* in *Cornrigg* (Durh.) to the above O. E. word.

Lancashire Names.—Corn Clove, Nels. ; Corney Hill Farm, Caton ; Cornbrook, Manchester.

[I do not assert unhesitatingly that the prefix in the above names is O. E. *corn*.]

Cot(t), O. E., 'dwelling, house, cot' ; Mod. L. G. *kot* ; Mid. Dutch *cot* ; O. Sax. *kot*, 'cottage, hut, small farm' ; cp. also Mod. Fris. *koaterboer*, 'cottar, small landowner.' O. H. G. *chute*, 'sheep hut.'

O. E. Independent Use.—*Gif hwile man forstolen þinge ham to his cotan bringe*, etc., Laws of Cnut., ii. 76, Schmid, p. 312 ; *ingā in cotte ðinum*, Lindisfarne Gospels, Matt. 6, 6 ; *ofer ðǣm forda ollunc stræte ðæt onbutan ða cotu*, C. D. Ch., 561, iii. p. 35 (ann. 969).

In O. E. Pl. Names.—æt *Cwacot*, C. D., ii. p. 53 (854); on *Cyllincg cotan*, C. D., iii. p. 75 (ann. 972); min litle land on *Cotewaltune*, Thorpe's Diplomatar., p. 546.

In the Mod. Engl. dialects the word has somewhat varied meanings—'cottage of humble construction, small shed for sheep, pigs, etc., an outhouse, an isolated farm-house, enclosure.' Cp. E. D. D. sub *cote*. Originally, the word had a general sense, and if applied to a man's house did not necessarily imply a humble abode.

Continental Names.—Fris. *Koaten*, *Koaterhuzen*. Other Low Germ. *Zuydkote*, Dunkirk, Holland; *Kotwijk*, Dunk.; perhaps also in *Salzkothen*, Westfäl. Cp. Jellinghaus, p. 87.

In Mod. Engl. Pl. Names the element is very common—e.g. *Alvescot*, *Kencot*, *Rycote*, etc., in Oxon.; Buscot, earlier *Burhwardescot*, Berks.

The forms in *-cot* are from the O. E. nom., those in *-cote*, and *coat*, from the oblique cases.

Lancashire Names. — Alkincoats, Nels.; Ancoats, Manchester; Beamont Cote, Morec.; Coldcoats, Clith.; Cote Stones, Carnf.; Cottam, Huncoat, Ross; Leathercoat Wood, Garstang; Standish Cote, Dalton.

Crag (Celtic ?) Skeat gives Welsh *cragg*, 'rock,' *careg*, 'cliff'; O. Irish *carric*, 'rock.'

In the Mod. dialects of Scotl., Nthmb., W. Yorks., Westm., Cumb., *crag* means 'a rocky place, the steep side of a hill.'—E. D. D.

Lancashire Names.—Benrcrag, Ulv.; Buck Crag, Grange; Crag End, Lanc.; Crag Wood, Hawks.; Cragg Wood, Caton; High Crag, Hawks.; Long Crag, Wyres.; Craggs, Burn.; Hell Crag, Wyres.; Long Crag, Hawks.; Middle Crag, Lanc.; Seamew Crag, Hawks.; Sprout Crag, B.-in-F.; Under Crag, Con.

Crāwe, O. E., 'crow'; O. Sax. *krâia*; Mod. Fris. *krie*; O. H. G. *crâa*, *kraja*, *krawa*.

In O. E. Pl. Names.—*on crāwan þorn*, Birch Ch., 216, i. p. 304 (ann. 774); *on crawan crundul*, Birch Ch., 391, i. p. 545 (ann. 826); *to crawan hylle*, C. D., iii. p. 455 (ann. 961).

Continental Pl. Names.—*Kragenberg*, Rhn. Pr.; *Krahenhohe*, Rhn. Pr.; *Krefeld*, Rhn. Pr.; *Kreienhütt*, Westfäl.; *Kräheneck*, Baden; *Krainfeld*, Oberhess.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Crowborough*, Staffs. and Suss.; *Crowford*, Somers.; *Crowhurst*, Suss. and Surr.; *Crawley*, Hants., Oxon., Suss.

The Mod. names with *crow* (krou-) presuppose an O. E. *crā*; those with *craw-* (krō-) an O. E. *crāw-*.

Lancashire Names.—? Crawford, Wigan; Crawley's Cross, Garst.; Crawshaw Booth, Ross; ? Cronshaw, Clith.; Cronton, Liv.; Crow Buts, Morec.; Crow Trees, Blackb.; Crow Woods, Roch.

Croft, O. E., 'small, enclosed field'; '*prædia, foreburga, wordius croftas*,' Aldh., Gloss., 3790, Napier, O. E. Gl., p. 100 and note; Mod. Dutch *krocht, kroft*, 'stony hill, high and dry land, field among dunes,' Franck, p. 520.

In Mod. Engl. dial. *croft* means—'a small enclosed field or pasture attached to the dwelling-house, a small common, field in which furze is grown, a small holding or farm.' *Croft head*= 'the end of the croft or small field adjoining dwelling-house.' Wright, E. D. D., under *croft*.

As an independent word, according to W. it is in use in Sctl., Irel., Staffs., S.-E. Wores., Shropsh., Norf., Cornw., and in form *craat*, also in Wilts. and Somers.

O. E. Usage.—*ðonne ut æt ðæs croftes heafod*, C. D., iii. p. 37 (ann. 969); *ondlong ofre ðāt in ðone croft*, C. D., iii. p. 161 (after ann. 972).

O. E. Pl. Names or Boundaries.—*bercrofte*, C. D., iii. p. 260 (after 972); *horsa croft*, C. D., iii. p. 464; *calfre croft*, C. D., iii. p. 52.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Crofton*, Cumb., Yorks., Lincs., Hants.,; *Rycroft*, W. R. Yorks.

Lancashire Names.—Agecroft, Eccl.; Barncroft, Wray.; Bradcroft, Rib.; Brimmicroft, Blackb'n.; Croft, Warr.; Croft End, Con.; Higher Croft, Blackb'n.; Hen Croft, B.-in-F.; Howcroft Barn, Burn.; Marcroft Gate, Roch.; Martinscroft, Wigan; Patricoft, Eccl.; Stone Croft, Rib.; Under Croft, Lanc.

Cū, O. E., 'cow'; O. Sax. *kō*; O. Fris. *kū*; M. L. G. *kō*; Dutch *koe*; O. H. G. *kuo*.

O. E. Pl. Names.—'*of ðane fenne, æft ðære ealdan dīċ to cūforde*,' C. D., iii. p. 73 (ann 971); *adun cousled*, Birch Ch., 610, ii. p. 270 (late copy); in '*—on suþ healfe þæs hiredes land æt cubyrum*,' which occurs in the boundaries of an eleventh century Ch., C. D., iv. p. 77, we have what might become a permanent name. Cp. *Byres Road* in Glasgow. Another landmark in same Ch. is *Oxena gehæġ*, two lines lower.

The prefix *Cow-* is not uncommon in Mod. Engl. pl. ns., but

it is doubtful how far it may be referred to O. E. *cū*, and when the older forms are not available this cannot be determined with precision. *Cowsdown* (Worcs.) is deceptive, for its older forms are *Collesduna* (1108), *Coulesden* (1300), *Coulesdone* (1332), etc. Cp. Duignan, Worcs. Pl. Ns., p. 45. On the other hand D. assumes the name of the animal in *Cowbach*, though he gives no early form of the name at all (p. 44). Similarly, *Cowthorpe* (W. R. Yorks.) is from an older *Coletorp* (D. B.), *Colthorp* (K.'s Inq., p. 45, and Knt.'s Fees, same vol., p. 203, etc.), and *Cowton* (N. R.) appear as *Cudtun* in D. B., and as *Couton* (Nth. and Sth.) in K.'s Inq., p. 177. If the D. B. spelling means anything, *Cud-* may be a short form of *Cūþbeorht*. The *Cow-* in *Cowlees* (field name in Berks. near Uffington), and the Lancs. *Coupe* (q. v.) appear to refer to the animal.

Continental Pl. Names.—*De Kousprong*, *De Kouhagen*, Fris.; cp. with ending of last name O. E. *Oxena gehæġ* above. *Kuhkamp*, Düsseldorf; *Kuhknippen*, Rhn. Prov.; *Kuhbrück*, Silesia; *Kuhhorst*, Brandenb.

Lancashire Names.—Cow Hill, Rib.; Cowbury Dale, Moss.; Cowden, Clitheroe; Cowfield, Nels.; Cowhill, Cowpe, Cowbury.

D

Dæl and ***Dell**, O. E.; O. Fris. *del*; O. Sax. *dal*; O. H. G. *tal*.

The word *dæl*, 'valley,' etc., is common as an independent word in O. E. It also occurs in pl. ns. The form **dell* is only found in pl. ns. and boundaries. If such an independent element existed, we must assume an earlier **dalja*, by the side of **dal-*. Middendorff treats *dæl* and *dell* as distinct forms, and under the latter quotes, from Birch, such forms as *beran dell*, 638, *byrstæ dell*, 796; *ċȳpmanna dell*, 628, 905 etc.; *dēōpan delle*, 629. On the other hand, he gives several forms containing *dæl*, under *dell*. Were it not for the *-ll* in O. E. which suggests an old *-ja* stem, we might assume *dell* in Mod. names to be a weakened, unstressed form of *dæl*. Probably all names in *-dale* are actually pronounced (del) or (dl) in local speech at the present day.

The long form *dāle*, which undoubtedly occurs in mediæval spellings, is, of course, due to lengthening of *a* in M. E. in open syllables, oblique case *dā- le*.

Dale is such a common element in pl. ns. that it is hardly necessary to illustrate its use.

The O. N. *dalr*, an extremely common element in Scand. pl.

ns., may have given rise to some—perhaps many—of the north country *-dales*, especially if the preceding element is a Norse pers. n. as in *Uldale* (Cumb.) from *Ulfdale*. So far as the form is concerned the O. N. and the O. E. words are indistinguishable.

Lancashire Names.—Ainsdale, Liv. (earlier *-dene*); Bleasdale, Garstang; Bottomdale, Carn.; Cowbury Dale, Mossley; Cuerdale, Preston; Dale Barns, Carn.; Dale Beck, Roeb.; Dale Head, Con.; Dale Hey, Rib.; Dale Side, Caton; Dallam, Warr.; Dalton, Furness, etc. (see also remarks under Dalton in Pt. I); Dunnerdale, Con.; Foxdale Beck, Caton; Grassendale, Liv.; Kersal Dale, Manch.; Kirkdale, Liv.; Lindal, Dalton; Lindale, Dalton; Lugsdale, Liv.; Mallowdale; Ormidale, Oldh.; Roeburndale; Rossendale; Siddal Moor, Bury; Skelmersdale, Ormsk. (earlier *-dene*); Silverdale; Stony Dale, Cartm.; Swarthdale, Carn.; Troutall, Con.; Udale Beck, Caton; Wraysdale Cottage, Con.; Wyresdale; Yewdale, Con.; Ansdell, Lytham; Red Dell Head, Con.

Dam, 'an obstacle to stop the flow of water'; does not occur in O. E. as a noun, but the verb *demman* is found. The noun is found in M. E. (Ps. xvi. 35), Early English Psalter. The cognates are O. Fris. *dam*, *dom*, Richthofen, p. 689; Mod. Fris. *daem*, 'agger, dam'; Middle Dutch *dam(m)*, Frank; Dutch *dam*; M. H. G. *tam*, 'damm, teich,' Schade; O. N. *dammr*, 'hain.'

In Continental Names.—*Mildaem*, *de lange Daem*, Friesland; *Dam*, near Ornabrück; *Dambeck*, Mecklenburg.

Lancashire Names.—Carr Mill Dam, Wigan; High Dam, Stav.; Damhead, Lanc.; Dam Side, Garstang.

Denn and **Denu** (O. E.).

These two words are very probably cognate, and both occur as independent words in O. E. The former glosses *lustrum ferarum* (*wildēōra holl and denn*, Wright-Wülker, 187, 1); the latter means 'a plain, vale, dale, valley,' e.g. *ælc denu bip gefylled*, omnis vallis implebitur, Lk. iii. 5 (cit. B.-T.)

Both of these words occur in pl. ns. in the O. E. period, but it is not always certain that confusion has not taken place. A very large number of names in O. E. charters end in *-denn*, *-dænn*, a considerable number in *-den*, very few apparently in *-denu* and its variants. (On this see Middendorff, pp. 38, 39.) Such spellings as *-denn* and *-denu* are unambiguous, but *-den*, if it represents the former, shows the shortening of a final long or double consonant, which might be the result of its position

in an unstressed syllable. It is difficult to account for *-den* from *-denu* in the O. E. period, unless we assume confusion in form with *-denn*. It is probable, I think, that this confusion did take place, and that all these suffixes in O. E. denoted a *valley*.

It must be noted that *denu* would undergo lengthening of the vowel, in the independent word, in M. E. *-dēne*, which gives Mod. Engl. *dean*. This lengthening would not occur, however, in compounds where the element was unstressed, unless the connection with the independent *dēne* were preserved. *Denn* would retain its short vowel in all positions, at all periods.

Denn has the following cognates :—Mod. Fris. *dinne-* in *dinne-*, 'beam, abies.' Mod. Dutch *dann*, 'forest, lonely place surrounded by bush, etc., hence a hiding-place, hermitage, wild beast's lair,' Verwijs and Verdam, ii. p. 55.

The exact cognates of *denu* are very doubtful.

The original meaning of *den(n)* offers some difficulty. It is true that the glossarial explanation quoted above is clear enough as to one at least of its meanings. But this may be secondary. If the Dutch word above quoted be really identical, then the primary meaning is 'forest' or 'wooded land.' Kemble notes that it is 'mostly used in words denoting the pasture of swine,' C. D., iii. p. xxi. He also notes on p. xxii that denbæro is 'a pasture for hogs.' See also *bearu* above.) Thorpe, Diplomatarium, remarks in the glossary that *denbæru* means 'particularly one (a hollow grove) affording mast for swine,' and refers to a Ch. of 958, p. 119, of his collection, where occurs the passage 'hec sunt pascua porcorum, quot nostra lingua *denbera* nominamus.' This is repeated by Middendorff. The meaning of *denn* would seem to have developed as follows :—first the name of a certain kind of tree (oak ? or beech ?), then a forest, then a place where mast suitable for swine was found, then a pasture for swine generally, then a secluded place in a forest where wild beasts had their lairs—in fact a *den* in our sense. All this amounts to the probability that some of the places ending in *-den* may have been originally pastures for swine. In spite of this, there can be little doubt that the element was also applied in the general sense of 'den,' and further that it was confused later on with the word *denu* meaning 'a valley.' Skeat in Pl. Ns. of Beds., p. 10, and of Herts., p. 20, notes that *denu*, 'valley' is much confused with *-don* in the Mod. names. He cites *Ravensden*, *Stagsden*, *Wilden* in Beds. with original *denu*, and *Battlesden*, *Maulden* with earlier *-don*.

In Lancs. pl. ns. earlier *-den* (English) is sometimes replaced by

-dale (perhaps Norse) in the later forms of the same name. Cp. the early forms of *Skelmerdale*, and *Ainsdale*.

The following words and meanings are recorded by Wright for the Mod. dialects :—(1) *den*, 'dell, glen, deep hollow between hills' (Scotl., Nthmb., Cumb.) ; (2) *dean*, 'deep wooded valley or dell, especially a valley through which a stream flows' (Scotl., Nthmb., Durh., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., Berks., Kt., Hants., Somers.) ; (3) *dene*, 'sandy tract on the seashore,' applied to the low sandhills north and south of Yarmouth (Nrfk.).

Lancashire Names.—Ainsdale (see older forms) ; Baladen. Rochd. ; Baxenden, Blackb'n. ; Blackden, Roch. ; Brogden Fm., Burnl. ; Cockden, Nels. ; Cowden, Clith. ; Cuerden, Preston ; Dendron, Ald? ; Denton, Auld. ; Haslingden, Ross ; Hoddlesden, Darw. ; Hodden Br., Clith. ; Holden, Nels. ; Horden, Blackb'n. ; Norden, Roch. ; Ogden, Burn. ; Sabden, Burn. ; Skelmersdale (earlier *-dene*) ; ? Spodden (Riv), Roch. ; Standen, Clith. ; Stiperden Moor, Ross ; Stockden Br. House, Garstang ; Sudden, Roch. ; Swinden, Nels. ; Thursden, Nels. Trawden, Nels. ; Walkden, Eccl. ; Walsden, Roch. ; Woolden Hall, Eccl. ; Worden Hall, Chorley.

Dēōp, O. E., 'deep' adj. ; O. Sax. *diop* ; O. Fris. *diap, diep* ; O. H. G. *tiuf*.

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Deping*, C. D., i. p. 269 (*Deeping*, Lincs.), 819 ; *Deopandene*, C. D., iv. p. 34 (1026) ; *Deopford*, Birch Ch. 1281, 972 (cit. Duignan, Worcs. Pl. Ns.).

Continental Names.—Frisian *De Djippe Wei* ; *It Kennings Djip* (sub.). Low Germ. *Diepenbach*, Schlürscheid ; *Diepenbroich*, Rhn. Prov. H. G. *Tiefenbach*, Baden. Norse *Djupedal, Djupvik*.

In Modern English names, this element occurs somewhat disguised, in the form *Defford* (Worcs.), older forms of which are *Deopford, Deopanford, Depeford* (D. B.). Cp. Duignan, Worcs. Pl. Ns. under *Defford*.

Lancashire Names.—Deep Clough, Caton ; Deeply Vale, Rochd.

Dīċ, O. E., 'ditch,' applied not only to the trench, but also to the earth thrown out to make it, therefore also 'bank, vallum' ; O. Sax. *dīk* ; Mid. Dutch *dik*, 'fossa' ; O. Fris. *dik*, 'damm' ; Mod. Fris. *dyk*, 'ditch, water-course' ; Low Germ. *deich* ; M. H. G. *tīch*, 'teich, sumpf, kanal' ; Mod. Germ. *teich*, 'pond.'

Independent Use in O. E.—'þa scipo . . . [i.e. the crews] *dulfon þa ane mycele dić* on ðа suðhealfe, and dragon heora scipa on west healfe þære bryċġe, and *bedicodon* syððan þa burh uton þæt nan mann ne mihte ne inn ne ut,' Laud. Chronicle, 1016, cp. Plummer's Ed. i. p. 149.

O. E. Pl. Names.—*Dicesgate*, C. D., ii. p. 16 (842); *Dictunæ*, C. D., iii. p. 272 (=Ditton Kt. ?); *Dicweg*, C. D., v. p. 126.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Ditchet* (=Ditch head ? Somers.); *Ditchford*, Worcs.; *Ditchhampton*, Wilts. Cp. also *Shoreditch*, *Houndsditch*, etc. Possibly also in *Digbeth* Farm (Worcs., cp. Duignan, p. 50). The final cons. often disappears. Cp. Lancs. *Ditton*.

Continental Names.—Fris. *Diken*, *Dijkshvarne*, etc. Low Germ. *Dickerstrasse*, Barmen.; in *Deich*, Düsseldorf; also with H. G. *t—Froschenteich*, Düsseld. H. G. *Teichdorf*, Brandenb.; *Knappenteuch*, *Brunnenteuch*, Würtemb.

Lancashire Names.—Ditchfield Green, Liv.; Ditton; Boulsworth Dyke, Nels.; Stone Dikes, Ulv.

Dub, Mod. Engl. Provincial, 'pool of rain water, puddle, small pond.' Occurs also in Scotch in the form *Dib*.

The word is not found in O. E., nor in any of the Germanic languages, but it may nevertheless be an old word. I am reminded by Professor Strong that the word *dubus*, 'pool,' exists in Lithuanian. I should propose the following etymology, which includes both words:—Idg.: **dheubh-*, **dhubh*, meaning 'mist, steam, steaming heat,' etc., from which base we get Gmc. *ðuƀ-, and also Gk. *τύφος*>**θύφος*, *θῡ-μός*; Lat. *fūmus*. With these words the Goth. *dauns* is cognate, and also O. E. *dūst* from **dunst*. The meaning of *Dub* according to this etymology would be 'smoky, steaming pool.'

Lancashire Names.—Arnside Dub, Crow Dubs, Morec.; Dub How Farm, Hawks.; Out Dub Tarn, Hawks.; Wash Dub Wood.

Duce, O. E., 'a duck'; M. L. G. *duker*, 'mergus'; Mid. Dutch *dūkere*; Mod. Dutch *duker*; Mod. Fris. *dūker*; O. H. G. *tûhhari*, *dûchiri*, 'taucher, mergus.'

In the boundaries of Ch. 308, C. D., iii. p. 399, mention is made of a 'duck pond' called *ducan seaþ*. The name *Ductun* occurs in Ch. 134, C. D., p. 160, which Kemble identifies as *Doughton* in Glos. The diminutive *duceling* occurs in the Mod. *Ducklington* in Oxfordshire, the old name of which was *Ducelingdūn*. Cp. C. D., iv. p. 92, in a Ch. of Edward of 1044.

(1) **Dūn,** 'mountain, hill, down.' (O. E.—an early Celtic loan-word). The O. E. word seems also to be used for a fortified hill.

Independent Use in O. E.—*and ðæt wæter wes fiftyne fæðma deop ofer ða hehstan duna,* 'the water was fifteen fathoms deep above the highest hills.'

Cp. *Ducelingdun* cited under preceding word.

The Mod. development of the independent word is *down* (daun). As a suffix, *-dūn* was shortened to *dŭn* long before the period at which *ū* was diphthongised, and this suffix appears as (-dən), and is often written *-don* in Mod. pl. ns. The *o* instead of *u* is an M. E. spelling explained above (§ 2). *Grendon* (Devon) is explained as =(on) *Grenan dune,* Crawf. Ch., p. 55. Of course the existence of a range of downs, and the common use of the independent word often restores the full form in compounded names. As has been pointed out under *Denn* above, *-den* and *-dūn* are often confused.

(2) *Down* before a name as in *Down Holland* means 'lower,' or 'on the river,' 'on the sea.' Cp. also *Down Ampney* (Glos.) on the Thames.

Lancashire Names.—Hameldon, Nels.; Huntingdon Hall, Ribch.; Skeldon Moor.

Dūst, O. E., 'dust'; O. Fris. *dūst*; O. Sax. *dūst*; O. H. G. *tunst,* 'steam, smoke,' etc.

The adj. 'dusty' is, of course, formed from this word. I cannot find that either noun or adj. occur in English pl. ns, apart from the M. E. form='*dusty shaw,*' cited above in Pt. I., and the Mod. *Dusty Clough.*

E

(1) **-Ey=Ēa,** 'stream, water, river' (O. E.); O. Fris. *a, e*; O. Sax. *aha*; O. H. G. *aha*; Norw. (south only) *aa.*

A very common word in O. E. in Independent Use.—On ðæm lande syndon twa myċele ēā Iðaspes and Arbis, Oros., ii. 1 (cit. B.-T.).

Constantly used in land boundaries, in compounds, and otherwise, to denote specific brooks and rivers—*Innon cyrnea, andlang ea to mærcumbe,* Birch, 299 (800); *of ðam eadenne æft in dunne dic,* ibid. 229 (779), etc. (cit. Middendorf, p. 46).

The Mod. form of this *ēā* is *-ey* or *ea* in pl. ns., and it is thus indistinguishable from O. E. *īeġ, ēġ,* 'island,' etc. (q. v.).

The corresponding German *-ach* is common in Mod. Germ. pl.

ns., especially in Baden :—*Neckar Steinach*, *Eschach*, *Wolfach*, etc. ; *Dornach*, Rhn. Prov. Mod. Norw. : *Björkaa*, *Sandaa*, etc.

(2) **-Ey** or **-ea** = O. E. **ēā* ; O. H. G. *ouwa* ; M. H. G. *ouwe* ; Germ. *-au*, ' water, watery land, water-meadow,' etc.

This word is not generally recognsied in O. E., but one can hardly believe that O. E. *ēā*, usually explained as above under *-Ey* (1), may not in reality have had this origin also. Of course this view implies that there were two distinct words in O. E. (1) From Gmc. *ahwa*, ' water ' ; (2) from Gmc. *auwō-* ' water-meadow,' etc. Both of these would develop into *ēā* in O. E. *-au* is an exceedingly common suffix in German—Heilig, Ortsn. d. Groszherzogtums von Baden, p. 14, says there are more than fifty in that province alone. Leithaeuser, Bergische Ortsn., p. 150, etc., considers *aha* and *ouwe* as developed both from the same Idg. **akwa-*. In this case, we must assume for the latter, a form Idg. **akwā́-*, Gmc. **aχʷo-*. From this base O. E. *īēg-*, etc. ' island ' may also be derived. In any case the words all have a meaning connected with ' water.' In cases where O. E. *ēā* means not ' water,' but ' watery land,' I should prefer to consider it as cognate with *ouwe*. In H. G. the two forms *aha* and *ouwe* were very early differentiated in meaning as in form. See also, on *ea* and *ey*, Jellinghaus in Anglia. xx. p. 279.

(3) **Ey** = O. E. *īēg̃*, *ēġ*, ' island,' etc.

It meant not only ' island ' in the modern sense, but any elevated piece of land, wholly or partially surrounded by marshy country or flooded depressions (Skeat, Pl. Ns. of Herts., p. 24). *Ieġ* is the W. S. *ēġ* the non-W. S. form.

Independent Use in O. E.—*wulf is on īēġe, ic on oðerre, fæst is ðæt ēġlond fenne beworpen ; sindon wælreowe weras ðær on īġe*, Riddles of Cynewulf, i. 4, 6 (cit. B.-T.).

In Sweet's O. E. T. Glossary, pp. 608-609, six pl. ns. in *-ēg*, from Bede's History, and from Chs. are mentioned—e.g. *Ċerotes-ēġ* (Chertsey) ; *Heorot-ēġ* (Hartlepool) ; *Sēles-eġ-* ' quod dicitur latine insula vituli marini,' etc.

It is practically impossible to distinguish the origin of the suffix *-ey* after the O. E. period, but probably in the greater number of cases it was *-ēg*, or *ēā* (2), and means marshy, swampy land, and of course in some names, literally an island.

I think it probable that even in the O. E. period all those words were confused, certainly in form, and possibly in meaning, except that *ēā* (from ahwa) meant ' water,' and not ' land.'

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Bardsea, Dalt.; ? Bewsey, Warr.; ? Sawrey, Hawks.

Earn, O. E., 'eagle'; M. Dutch *aren, aern*; O. H. G. *arn*; O. Sax. *orn*.

The ordinary O. E. word for eagle. In pl. ns. such examples as *Earneleagh*, C. D., v. p. 52 (780). *Earnesdune*, C. D., v. p. 365 (956); *Earnes beorch*, C. D., iii. p. 301, probably represent shortened forms of some pers n. in *Earn-* such as *Earnwulf*, *Earnwig*, etc., or *Earn* by itself may have been a pers. n. Cp. also Napier and Stevenson's note on p. 51 of Crawf. Ch. for further examples of O. E. pl. ns. in *Earn-* both as a pers. n. and meaning 'eagle.' Many Continental names beginning with *Arns-* (*Arnsberg*, Westfäl; *Arnstein*, Hesse-Nassau, etc., etc.) probably contain rather a pers. n. than that of the bird.

Among Mod. Engl. pl. ns. *Arley* (Staffs.) appears to contain the bird's name; cp. under Lancs. *Arley* in Pt. I. above.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—(Pers. n.) Earnshaw Bridge, Preston.

Ēāst, O. E., 'east'; O. Fris. *asta, ost*; O. H. G. *ōstan*; O. N. *austr*

A very common prefix in O. E. pl. ns., e.g. *Eastcot*, *Eastham*, *Eastcroft*, *Easton*, etc. In M. E. this element appears as *Est-* in pl. ns., especially in D. B. Later on *Ast-* is the common form in some cases. Cp. Duignan, under *Aston* (Staffs. Pl. Ns.). Pl. ns. in *East-* and *Ast-* are so common that examples are superfluous.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Eastham, Lytham; East Plain, Cart.

Ēċġ, O. E., 'sharpness, edge'; O. Fris. *eg, ig*; O. Sax. *eggia*; O. H. G. *ekka*, 'ecke, kante, winkel,' cp. Schade, i. p. 130; O. N. *egg*.

The O. E. word in ordinary speech, refers chiefly to the edge of swords and axes. In poetry it is used alone to signify a sword, as distinct from *ord*, 'point,' which is used for pointed weapons, spears, etc. *Ecg* is common in O. E. as a first element in pers. ns.—e.g. *Ēċġlāf*, *Ēċġþēow*, *Ēċġheard*, *Ēċġbeorht*.

This element does not appear very common in O. E. pl. ns., or in specifications of landmarks, boundaries, or features of the landscape. Jellinghaus, Anglia xx. p. 279, says it often occurs, but gives no examples. We have, however, *ecgan croft*, C. D., iii. p. 170 (ann. 979); *egcean lǣa*, C. D., iii. p. 344 (1005). Middendorff quotes (p. 43), *swa adun ofer ðа ecge*; Birch, 356 (ann. 816); *of ðam ġeate ondlong ecge*, ibid. 541 (ann. 875); *of brocces slæd ondlong ecce*, ibid. 1299 (ann. 974); *be ðes hlinces niðer ecge*, ibid. 782 (ann. 943), etc. M. remarks that *bill, gara, ord*,

sċēāt, sweord, which all occur in O. E. pl. ns. or designations of locality are in that case synonymous with *eċġ*. Whether this be so is perhaps open to question, but in any case, *eċġ* in pl. ns., etc., appears to mean 'edge, point, cliff, declivity,' also probably 'ridge,' although Jellinghaus (loc. cit.) says this meaning does not seem to have developed in English.

In the Germanic speaking countries the word is common in pl. ns. In Baden about twenty-five names occur containing this element, both in its H. G. form *-eck*, and L. G. *egg*; e.g. *Kräheneck, Stolzeneck, Geroldseck, Steinegg, Elmenegg, Loubegg,* etc., cp. Heilig, O. N. d. Grsshrztms Baden, pp. 22, 23. See also on *-egg* and *-eck*, Leithaeuser's remarks and examples, Bergische Ortsn., p. 23, and Jellinghaus, Westfäl. Ortsn., p. 29.

Lancashire Names.—Burn Edge, Roch.; Edge Fold, Bolt.; Edge Green, St. Hel.; Edge Hill, Liv.; Blackstone Edge.

Efes, O. E., 'Eaves of a house, border, edge, side, overhanging edge of a wood,' Kemble, C. D., iii. p. xxiv.; O. Fris. *Ose*, 'Dachrinne'; M. L. G. *ovese*, 'Vorsprung des Daches'; M. Dutch *ose, oyse*, 'eaves'; O. H. G. *obasa, opasa, obosa, obisa*, 'Vorhalle'; Mod. Bav. *obsen*, etc., 'Vorhalle der Kirche'; O. Swed. *opsädrup*, 'Dachtraufe'; O. Sax. *ups*, 'eaves.'

In O. E. ordinary Use.—*geworden iċ eom swa swa spearwa anhoga oððe anwuniende on efese oððe on þecene* (cit. B.-T.).

In local designations *efes* is used as the 'edge of a field' (?) in C. D., ii. p. 172 (931), cit. B.-T.—*ðonne west ut ðurh henna leah oð hit cimeð to ðære efese*; and in Crawf. Ch., iv. 50, p. 7—*þon up on stream oþ æsculfes weorðig, norð þanon sceaftryht oþ efes.* Napier and Stevenson refer to this passage, in the Index, by the entry, '*efes*, edge' (of a wood ?). But may it not mean 'edge of the weorthig' in the passage cited ? *Be Cilternes efese* occur in a late copy of Edward Conf., C. D., iv. p. 232 (cit. Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 280). Here the word may refer either to the forest or the hills.

In M. E. the word occurs as *evese, eovese, ovese*, etc., cp. Stratmann-Bradley, p. 204, where various uses of the word are illustrated, e.g. *þe evese of þe hil*, Wicl. Job. xi. 5; *the wode efese*, Wright's Vocabularies (not Wright-Wülker), 159.

It should perhaps be added that the word is a singular (fem.) in O. E. and in M. E., although the Mod. speech-sense feels it as a pl.

Lancashire Name.—Habergham Eaves.

Ende, O. E., 'end, corner, part'; O. Fris. *enda, eind*; O. Sax. *andi*; O. H. G. *andi, anti, enti*, etc.

INDEPENDENT USE IN O. E.—*a butan ende*; *ðæt hi ðæs gewinnes sumne ende gedyden*, Oros., 2, 2; *æt sylfe wæter ðe hie ða ban mid þwogan, gutan in ænne ende ðære cyricean*, Bede, iii. 11; *Ofer ealle eorþan endas*, Ps. Thorpe, 18, 4 (all these passages cit. B.-T.).

This seems very rare in old pl. ns. Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx., does not mention the element at all. Middendorff only cites—*usque cweokende*, 59A.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Bolton Town End, Carnf.; Crag End, Lanc.; Croft End, Con.; Nook End, Eccl.; Town End, Con., etc.; Town Ends, Chip.; Low Water End, B.-in-F.

Eofor, 'wild boar'; O. H. G. *ebur, epur, eber*.

Besides the animal itself, *eofor* (in poetry) designates in O. E. the crest on a helmet, which was frequently made in the shape of a boar—as a symbol of vigour. Is it possible that the word may have had the secondary sense of 'crest of a hill,' etc., in pl. ns.?

Eofor occurs in Beowulf as a pers. n., cp. 2487 and 2965, also in the form *efor*, 2994 and 2998. There are several O. E. pers. ns. with *Eofor* as a first element—*Eoforheard*, etc. See Searle. It is therefore possible that it is a pers. n. in some pl. ns. in which it occurs. See also Skeat, Beds. Pl. Ns., pp. 1 and 2.

Eburleah (identified by Kemble as *Everley*, Wilts.) occurs in a very ancient Ch. of Ine, ann. 704., C. D., i. p. 57. *Eoforsōl* (literally the 'hog's wallowing-place'?) is found in a Ch. dated 934, C. D., ii. p. 195 (cit. also Middendorff, p. 48, from Birch). The O. E. name of *York* was *Eoforwic*, which is doubtless a popular etymology of *Eboracum*.

Eberbach (Baden) apparently contains the German cognate of *Eofor*.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Everton, L'pool.

Erþ, non-W. S., *Yrþ* (=E. W. S. *ierþ*), 'plough land, arable land,' etc. (O. E.).

This word generally occurs in O. E., in the forms *yrþ* and *irþ*. and in a Kt. Ch. (Thorpe, p. 477) as *ærþ*. These forms point to an earlier **arþi-*, E. W. S. *ierþ*. This is confirmed by the Middle Dutch form *art*, 'ploughed land,' and M. H. G. *art*, 'ploughing,' etc. Cp. also O. N. *arðr*, 'small plough.' The M. E. form *erþe*, 'ploughing,' occurs in Palladius, iv. 68 (cit. Stratmann-Bradley). These words are all cognate with O. E.

erian, 'to plough,' and *eorþe*, 'earth,' though they represent a different form of the base,-**ar*-, from that in the last word which has original **er*-. O. E. *eard*, 'home, dwelling, native land,' is probably also cognate.

Independent Use in O. E.—*ðonne is ðes londes ðe ic higum selle xvi gioc ærðe londes ond medwe* (Will of Badanoth, ann. 837, Thorpe's Dipl., pp. 477); *Iċ aweste þine buruh and ġewyrċe to yrðlande*, 'I will lay waste thy city, and turn it into ploughed field' (Ælfric's Metrical Lives of Saints, Ed. Skeat, 3, 224; cit B.-T.).

I have no certain examples of this element in pl. ns., in documents of the O. E. period, unless we have one in the phrase—*þanon on erðlandes heġe*, C. D., v. p. 117 (ann. 863). It is, of course, difficult at this stage to draw a hard and fast line between a casual descriptive epithet and a permanent pl. n. For example of simliar cases of occurrence of this element in O. E., see Middendorff, sub *earð*, *yrð*, p. 47. In H. G. pl. ns. the element occurs as *-ert* as in *Sondert*, *Husbert*, *Stuppert*, etc. Cp. Leithaeuser, Bergische Ortsn., pp. 178 and 179.

Lancashire Name.—Arbury, Wigan.

F

Fæġer, O. E., 'fair, beautiful, pleasant,' etc.; O. Sax. *fagar*; O. H. G. *fagar*.

In C. D., iii. p. 187, in a Ch. which purports to be of 982, but which is obviously a much later copy, or a forgery, we find—usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet *fegeram þorne*, which Kemble takes to be in Wilts. In any case a *Fairthorn* exists now in Hants. In Birch Ch., ii. p. 151, *at Fagranforda* occurs (cit. Middendorff). Is this the Mod. *Fairford* in Glos.? In the latter name, *fæger* doubtless means 'easy to cross, convenient,' etc. Staffordshire *Farewell* is, according to Duignan (Staffs. Pl. Ns.), '13 c. *Fayrwell*, *Fagereswell*, *Fagrewelle*, *Fagerwelle*,' etc. The source of these forms is not given. The spellings point to O. E. *fæġer*. The second of these spellings rather suggests a pers. n. for the first element, but I cannot find that the word was used as such in O. E. The Mod. family n. *Fair* is, according to Bardsley (Engl. and W. Surnames), of local origin, but this is supported only by the name *John de Fayre*, 29 Edw. I.; it may surely also have another origin, and refer to the personal appearance.

Lancashire Names.—Fairclough, Rib.; Fairrigg, Stav.;

Fairfield, Liv.; Fair Snape, Garst. [See, however, names in *Fair-* in Pt. I. for another possible explanation of this element.]

Fald, earlier *falud*, O. E., 'fold, sheepfold, oxstall.'

In C. D., ii. p. 195, both *Byringfalod*, and *Fæstanfalod* occur (ann. 934); *falodleah* is found C. D., v. p. 70; Middendorff cites *to ðæn ealdan falde*, Birch, Ch., No. 620, ii. p. 284 (ann. 909), etc.

Jellinghaus (Anglia, xx. p. 282) suggests, as is very probable, that the O. E. *fald* contained a dwelling for the shepherd. Such dwellings may have become the starting point of larger settlements.

Examples of Mod. names with this termination are—*Ashfold*, Surr.; *Cowfold*, Sussex. Cit. Jellinghaus.

O. E. *folde*, 'earth, dry land, region, territory,' etc., is indistinguishable, in spelling at any rate, from the above, after the M. E. period, since O. E. *fāld* becomes *fōld*. O. E. *fōlde* would have a different *ō-* sound in the M. E. period, and would normally become Mod. Engl. (fūld), but as this was a poetical word, it is improbable that it was used in pl. ns. As a second (unstressed) element, it would be shortened in O. E., but might be lengthened later, on the analogy of the other *fold*. *-fold*, in *Cowfold*, etc., owes its long vowel to the influence of the independent word.

Lancashire Names.—Barrack Fold, Bolt.; Captain Fold, Bury; Clarkson's Fold, Rib.; Dixon Fold, Bury; Fold Houses, Garst.; Folds, Chorley; Fold Yeat, Hawks.; Gunnell's Fold, Wigan; Green Fold, Wray; Hitchen's Fold, Bury; Hindle Fold, Clith.; Hoole Fold, Bilsb.; Horrock's Fold, Bolt.; Kenyon Fold, Bury; Keyfold, Bilsb.; Knowe Fold, Dar.; Lowhouse Fold, Littleb.; Marking Fold Hill, Roeb.; Rantreefold, Wray; Rawfold, B.-in-F.; Sandfold, Ant.; Sheardley Fold, Bilsb.; Showley Fold, Blackb'n; Tewitfold, Silverdale; Thornham Fold, Rochd.; Withnell Fold, Blackb'n; Woodfold Park, Blackb'n.

Feld, 'field, plain, open country' (O. E.); O. Fris., O. Sax., *feld*; O. H. G. *feld*, *veld*, *felth*, etc.

This word is in ablaut-relation to O. E. *folde*, 'country,' etc. but has nothing to do with O. E. *fald*, *falod*, Mod. Engl. *fold*. Its original meaning seems to have been 'campus,' land naturally open, as distinct from *lēāh* (q. v.), which was land which had been cleared from forest, etc. Thus *feld* in pl. ns. often implies old pasture, natural grazing land.

Feld was further applied to unenclosed land (cp. Kemble Pref. to C. D., iii. p. xxiv. and Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 281)

as distinct from *tūn*, *worþ*, *haga*, *hamm*, etc. (q. v.), which all implied enclosures of some kind. Later on *feld* came to have a much more general meaning, and was applied both to enclosed 'fields,' and those which had been cleared of scrub, etc. Middendorff (p. 49) points out that the Mod. names in *-field* in England are far commoner than in the O. E. period, which means that many of them are of later origin. The reason of the comparative rarity of the suffix in O. E. pl. ns. is that primeval open, clear pasture was much rarer than forest land.

The Continental use of the word in pl. ns. leads to the same conclusion. In Westfäl. *feld* is defined by Jellinghaus (Westfäl. On., p. 32) as 'Ursprünglich eine unbewaldete Fläche'; and Leithaeuser (Bergische Ortsn., p. 200) says, 'feld bezeichnet freies, offnes Land im Gegensatz zu Berg, Wald, and ist oft gleich Boden, Fläche, Flur.' Cp. also the Boer-Dutch use of *veldt* at the present day.

Several of the Mod. Engl. names in *-feld* occur in the O. E. Chs., e.g. *Brādanfeld* (Bradfield, Berks) for which references to five different Chs. are given in the Index of C. D.; *Liccedfeld* (Lichfield, Hants.), Birch Ch., 310; *to clǣnefelda* (Clanfield, Hants.), Birch Ch., 620—the two last are referred to by Middendorff, etc.

As a first element *feld-* is comparatively rare, but it is found in the compounded *felden*, *fylden*, etc. (Middendorff).

Lancashire Names.—Belfield, Roch.; Brierfield, Nels.; Broadfield, Blackb.; Broomfield, High, Bork.; Cantsfield, Tunst.; Cowfield, Nels.; Downey Field, Morec.; Edenfield, Roch.; Field Broughton, Cart.; Fairfield, Liv. and Aught.; Fallowfield, Manch.; Field Head, Caton; Foxfield, B.-in-F. Freshfield, S'port; Gawith Field, Ulv.; Greenfield, Nels.; Hampsfield, Grange; Highfield, Carnf.; Hundersfield, Rochd.; Infield House, Garst.; Limefield, Bury; Longfield Wood, B.-in-F.; Makerfield, Wigan; Moorfield, Kirkham; Newfield Wood, Con.; Oldfield Carr, Poulton.

Fell (Scandinavian). Vigfusson gives '*fell*, a fell, wild hill.' In Icelandic, *fell* is a single hill, and in pl. a range of hills. O. N. *fjall*; Swed. *fjäll*; Dan. *fjæld*. This word is unknown in West- Germanic.

It is common in England in areas such as Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancs., where there were Norse settlements.

Lancashire Names.—Abbeystead Fell, Wyres.; Above Beck Fells, Con.; Black Fell, Caton; Dunkenshaw Fell, Wyres.;

Dunnerdale Fells, Con.; Fair Snape Fell, Garstang; Fell Barn, Garstang, Fell End, Garstang; Fell Foot, Chip.; Fell Side, Garstang and Tunst.; Furness Fell.; Grit Fell, Caton; Harrisend Fell, Garst.; Haylot Fell, Caton; Hill Fell, Hawks.; Holme Fell, Con.; Lee Fell, Wyres.; Leck Fell, Wyres.; Low Oxen Fell, Con.; Luddah's Fell, Garstang; Marshaw Fell, Wyres.; Park Fell, Hawks.; Parlick Fell, Chipping; Salter Fell, Roeb.; Snape Fell Fair, Garstang; Turnbrook Fell, Wyres.; Tatham Fells, Roeb.; Winfold Fell, Wyres.; Whiteray Fell, Roeb.; Wolf Fell, Chipping; Yewdale Fells, Con. [N.B. Dr. Hirst says there are no *fells* south of Wyresdale.]

Fišć, O. E., 'fish'; O. Fris., O. Sax. *fisk*; O. H. G. *fisc, visc*, etc.; O. N. *fiskr*.

There are several names in C. D. which contain this element :— *Fiscuðe, id est portus piscis*, C. D., iii. p. 354 (ann. 1006-12); *fisċ mere*, C. D., iii. p. 373. This form is in the boundaries of a Ch. given C. D., i. p. 23, which is dated 680 (!). *Adiecto uno piscatorio on Taemise fluuio ubi dicitur Fiscnaes* (*Fishness*, Kent), C. D., i. p. 216 (ann. 801).

Fisċ appears to have been used as a pers. n., through the only example known to Searle is that found, Ellis, Introd., ii. p. 111, of a person described as 'liber homo' of Norf., D. B., 208*b*., who held land in the time of Edward the Confessor. This pers. n. perhaps is the first element in *Fiscesburna*, C. D., i. p. 59 (ann. 704). Kemble's Index gives references to four other Chs. which contain this name. Middendorff cites also a *Fisċestun* from Birch (ann. 958).

O. E. *fisċere*, 'fisherman,' also enters into O. E. pl. ns. Cp. C. D., v. p. 392 (ann. 957), *oð Fisċeresdene*; *Fiskertun* (Fisherton, Lincs.), C. D., iv. p. 141 (ann. 1060). The *sk* in this name is probably due to Scandinavian influence, which we might expect at this date and in this locality; several Norse names occur among the signatories of this Ch., e.g. Askyl, Tokes sune (see the name *Tōki* under *Tockholes* above Pt. I.), and Iaulf Maltes sune. *Fisherwick* (Staffs.) has a twelfth century form *Fischerewick* (cp. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.).

Lancashire Names.—Fish House, Cart.; Fishnet Point, Lanc.; Fishpool, Bury; Fishwick, Preston.

Ford, O. E., 'a ford'; O. Fris. *forda*; O. H. G. *furt*; O. N. *fjorðr*, 'firth, bay'; Mod. Norw. *fjord*.

In O. E.—*neh þæm forda þe mon hæt Welingaford*, Oros., v. 12, ed. Sweet.

In Pl. Names, etc.—*Fordstreta*, C. D., i. p. 31 (ann. 686 ?); æt *Forde*, C. D., ii. p. 47; *Fordeuuicum*, C. D., i. p. 12 (675)= Fordwich, Kent.

There are innumerable places on rivers, with names ending in *ford* all over England; it is unnecessary to enumerate them. Those which end in *-forth* (Carnforth), etc., simply have the O. N. form of the word instead of the O. E. Most Lancs. pl. ns. in *-ford* have earlier forms in *-forth* as well; similarly, those in *-forth* have forms in *-ford*, showing that the Engl. and Norse forms of the word were used indiscriminately.

Continental Pl. Names.—*Altenförde*, Westfäl.; *Drievorden*, Hann.; *Hahnenfurt*, Rhn. Prov.; *Niederfurth*, Rhn. Prov. Old Norse forms: *Austfirðir*, Sturl. Saga; *Borgerfjorðr*, Sturl. Saga (cp. *Burford* in Oxon. ?); *Breðafjorðr*, Sturl. Saga (cp. *Bradford*).

Fōt, O. E., 'foot,' also used as a measure; O. Fris. *fōt*; O. Sax. *fōt*; O. H. G. *fuaz*, *fuez*, etc.; O. N. *fōtr*.

The word *foot* in the sense of the 'bottom of a hill,' etc., is probably not an old usage. Middendorff doubtfully cites *to ðære gearn windan fæt*, from a ch. of 960 (?) in Birch.

Among Gmc. pl. ns. on the Continent, we have apparently this element in *Fussholden*, Rhn. Prov.; and *Fuetzen*, Bondorff, Baden.

Lancashire Names.—Broadgate Foot, Morec.; Brookfoot, Burn.; Browfoot, Silv.; Carefoot, Bilsb.; Fellfoot, Chip. and Stav.; Field Foot, Ribch.; Lightfoot Green, Bilsb. ?

Friþ, Fyrhþe, O. E., 'forest, forest land.'

Middendorff (*frið*) gives 'buschwerk, unterholz,' and quotes. friðæleāh, from Birch (316) (ann. 804); this occurs also in C. D. —*Friðesleah*, No. 187, Friðæleah, 1049. The early form of this name points to a pers. n. ? C. D. also has Friðtun, No. 782, Fritton, Norf. Middendorff's Friððingden, B. 459, and friðesleas, ibid., are nothing to the point. Under *friþ(j)eard*, 'enclosed space, habitation of peace,' B.-T. surely confuses two distinct first elements: (1) Gif friðgeard sie on hwes lande, abuton stan oððe treow, oððe wille, etc., L. N. P. L., 54; and (2) friðgeardum on, Chr. 399. There is no connection between the two words *friðo*, *frið*, 'peace,' and *frið* or *fyrhðe*, primarily 'fir forest,' then perhaps 'enclosed space'=enclosed by a hedge. M. also gives *fyrhð*, *firhð*, 'Geholz (von Föhren ?) sieh *furh*' ne Dial firthe 'gehölz, Hain,' of cincges *fyrhðe* on offahamesgemære, Birch, No. 779; andlang þæs *fyrhðes*, Earle, p. 158. M. also cites ye

huntieþ iðes Kinges friðe, La3· 1432 (Strat-Bradl.). *furh*, 'fir' does not occur in O. E., but *furhwudu* does [Lchdm., iii. 327, 39, col. i.] (B.-T.).

frith='wood or wild land,' Duignan, Staffs. Cp. also Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 23. Mod. Yorks. *Firby*, E. R., is *Frytheby* in K.'s Inq., 146, 268; and the same place in N. R. Yorks. is Frethebi, 154, Fridheby, 336, K.'s Inq. In D. B. the latter is Fridebi, 29*b*, the former Friebia, 70.

E. D. D. gives the following uses of *frith* in the Mod. dialects which are very much to the point: (1) 'a wood, plantation, coppice, clearing in a forest or wood' (Scotl., Nthmb., W. Yorks., Lancs.); (2) 'an enclosure surrounded by a wreathed or wattled hedge' (W. Somers.); (3) 'unused pasture land' (Cumb., Lancs.); (4) 'brushwood, underwood suitable for wreathing or wattling' etc. (Yorks., Glos., Worcs., Sussex, Hants., I. of W., Wilts., Dors., Somers., Der., Cornw.); (5) 'a hedge, especially a wattled hedge or fence; a gap in a hedge filled up with wattling' (Kt., Somers., Dev., Cornw.).

I derive O. E. *fyrhðe* and *friðˇ* (with metathesis) from Gmc. **furhiþō*, and take the primary meaning to be 'collection of fir trees.' Cp. *furh*, etc. above. I further identify the suffix *-iþō* with the Latin *-ētum* as in *quercētum*, *pinētum*, etc. See my note on this eytmology in M. L. R. for July 1910. The general meaning of 'forest,' or 'forest land,' is that borne by *friðˇ* and *fyrhðe* in O. E. Cp. *he sætte mycel deorfriðˇ* (Laud MS. A.-S. Chron., 1086, Plummer's Ed., p. 221). Gmc. *furh* from Idg. **prkʷos* is cognate with Lat. *quercus*. Therefore the word under discussion has nothing whatever to do with O. E. *friðˇ*, 'peace, protection,' which goes back to an Idg. base **pri-*, 'love,' etc. Of course in such compounds as *friðˇland* the prefix might be either of the two O. E. words, and the whole might mean either 'protected land' or 'forest land.'

[Note. Professor Toller has had the kindness to write to me on my interpretation of the Chronicle *deorfriðˇ*. While not disputing the etymology of *fyrhþe*, etc., which I have suggested, he is convinced that the word does not mean 'deer forest' in this passage, but simply 'immunity from pursuit for deer.']

Fūl, O. E., 'foul, filthy'; Goth. *fuls*; O. Fris. *fūl*; O. H. G. *fūl*.

O. E. Pl. Names.—*in Fūlebroc, of Fūlebroc*, C. D., iv. p. 71 (ann. 1042); *æt Fulanpettæ*, Will of *Aðelflædu*, C. D., iii. p. 272; *on fulan yġe*, C. D., iii. p. 49 (ann. 960).

The last name is that of a place in Hants. according to Kemble. The Mod. form would be *Fulney*, which is not recorded by Bartholomew as existing in Hants., though he gives a *Fulney* in Lincs. In Mod. names which begin with *Foul-* we cannot be sure whether we have the representative of O. E. *fūl-* or O. E. *fugol-*, 'bird,' unless we have some old forms. Similarly in the case of Mod. names beginning with *Ful-* this may be either a shortening of O. E. *fūl-* or may be O. E. *full-* 'full.' *Fulford* in Staffs. has thirteenth century form *Fuleford*, and this according to Stevenson (cit. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.) contains O. E. *fūl*, and the same is probably true of *Fulfen*, Staffs. *Fulbourn* in Cambs. is also of this origin as its earlier forms seem to show. Cp. *Fuleburna*='foul stream' in the Ely Inquest. See Skeat, Cambs. Pl. Ns.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Fulshaw; Fulwood.

Furhlang, O. E., 'a furlong, stadiuim.'

O. E. USE.—*ðǣnon on ðæt lange furlang*, C. D., iii. p. 97 (ann. 973); *Bethania is gehende Hierusalem ofer fyftyne furhlang*, St. John's Gosp., ii. 18, cited by B.-T.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Bamfurlong, Wigan.

G

Gap, O. N., 'gap, empty space'; M. E. *gappe*.

There is no doubt that this is a loan-word, and there is no genuine English cognate. The word is related to O. N. *gapa*, to 'gape.'

Gap is used in various senses in the Mod. Engl. dialects many of which are to the point in considering the word in pl. ns.

E. D. D. gives the following: (1) 'Opening in a fence, a gate, a large breach in a hedge' (Scotl., Lakel., Cumb., Westm., N. Lancs., Lincs., Shropsh., Dors.); (2) 'an opening, a pass amongst mountains or hills, a cleft in a cliff' (Lakel., Cumb., N. Yorks., Lincs., Kent, Sussex. Cp. Birling Gap on the Downs near Eastbourne).

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Bough Gap, Nelson; Stainton Gap, Ulv.; Whitemoss Gap.

Garðr, O. N. 'yard, enclosed space, courtyard, court and premises.' This loan-word is cognate with O. E. *ġeard*, 'yard,' etc., and with O. Sax. *gard*, 'enclosure, dwelling'; O. H. G. *gart*, 'enclosure'; Goth. *gards*, 'house.' The word occurs as a farm name in Iceland (Cleasby-Vigf.).

In the Mod. Engl. dial. *garth* means: (1) 'a small piece of

enclosed ground, usually, beside a house, a field or paddock, garden, yard, a fenced place' (Scotl., Nthumb., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., Notts., Lincs., Northants.); (2) 'house with land attached to it, homestead (Scotl. and Orkn., Lancs.,); (3) 'court or alley of houses' (N. Yorks. This must be a very recent application, going no further back than the development of slums in Yorks.); (4) 'fence or hedge' (Yorks.).

There are a good many names ending in *-garth*, in the Nth. of England. *Arkengarth* Dale, W. R. Yorks.; *Dalegarth*, Cumb.; *Hallgarth*, Durh., etc.

Note that O. N. *garðr* is also used as a pers. n. Cp. under *Gascow* in Pt. I. above.

Lancashire Names.—Cresgarth, Caton; Hall Garth, Carn.; Lingart; Lopper Garth, Dalt.; Peol Garth, Grange; Pull Garth Wood, Hawks.; Sidegarth, Carn.; Moorgarth, Caton.

***Ġēā,** 'village, district.' This word is not found in O. E., as an independent word, although it must have existed. O. Fris. has *gā*, *gō*, 'village'; Mod. Fris. *gea*, 'village'; O. Sax, *gā*, *gō*, 'village'; O. H. G. *kawi*, *goui*, *kewi*, *gewi*, etc.; Goth. *gawi*; Middle Dutch *gouw*; Mod. Germ. *gau*, 'district, province.' Miller (Pl. Ns. in Bede, pp. 59 and 60) suggests that the element existed in the original forms of *Ely*, *Elige*, *Eliga*, and instances Old German names, such as *Ailihc-caugia*, *Eilacgawe*, which seem to show that *Elia* has an old Germanic, and not merely a local origin. M. thinks this element was lost in English, and confounded with *-ea*, and ēġ, etc., in names where it originally occurred. Cp. remarks loc. cit. p. 40, on Bede's forms *Læstinga e*, *Læstinga eu*, etc.

English *yeoman* is not found in O. E., but occurs in M. E. as *yēman*, *yōman*, cognate with O. Fris. *gāman*, 'villager'; Middle Dutch *goymannen*, 'arbitrators appointed to decide disputes' (Skeat, Conc. Etym. Dict.).

The suffix *-gau* occurs in several Continental names:—*Ober-Ammergau*, Bav.; *Breisgau*, Baden; *Knetzgau*, Bav., etc.

Lancashire Name.—Yealand Conyers, Y. Redmayne, Y. Storrs, Silverdale.

Ġeat, Ġet, etc, O. E., 'gate, door.' The O. N. *gata* means 'thoroughfare, way, path, road,' senses in which the O. E. word is never used.

The E. D. D. gives an enormous number of different meanings attached in various parts of the country to the two forms (ʃɛt) and its variants, and (gēt), etc. and its variants. They appear all to be, either identical with, or slight modifications, of either

the O. E. or the O. N. meanings. As regards the form of the Mod. Engl. words, it is best to be quite clear. The (ʃɛt) forms can only be derived from the O. E. word, and must represent the sing. type, *ġæt*, *ġet*. The (gēt), etc., forms may be derived, either from the O. E. pl. type—*gatu*, *gatum*, etc., or from the O. N. Thus the O. E. pl. type and the O. N. are indistinguishable in form, and the only guide to the decision of whether a (gēt) form in Engl. or N. is really the meaning.

ġeat is found in O. E. local names :—*Cyrtlanġeat*, also of *Cyrtlangate* (*g* and *a* on analogy of pl.), Crawf. Ch., i. 6, 19 and 20, p. 1 ; *Dicesġeat* and *Dićesgate*, ibid. l. 37, p. 2 ; *of hagan gate*, Crawf. Ch., ii. 4, p. 3, and ibid. *on hagan ġet*, ibid. 33, p. 4.

This suffix is not always readily recognisable in the Mod. ns., thus N. and S. point out in their note, Crawf. Ch., p. 62, that *Dicesġeat*, appears as *Ditchett* in Devon, and *Ditcheat* in Somers. Cp. also *Lidiate* pronounced (lidžit), etc., in Lancs. As a prefix this element is fairly common, e.g. *Gatehouse*, Chesh. ; *Gateley*, Hants. ; *Getminster*, Dors. ; *Gateley*, Chesh. It is possible that some of the names in *Gate*, especially in the north go back to O. N. *geitr*, or O. E. *gāt*, 'goat.' The former was used as a pers. n. Cp. Björkman, Nord. Persn. in England, p. 44.

Lancashire Names.—(1) Autley Gate, Nels. ; Barngates, Hawks. ; Brynn Gates, A.-in-M. ; Fell Gate, Cartmel ; Gatacre, Liv. ; Gate-rigg Wood, Carn. ; ? Gat-hurst, Wigan ; Greengate, Littleb. ; Oak Gate, Bury ; Outwood Gate, Bury ; Palegate Farm, Ribch. ; Sidegath Gate, Carn. ; Trough Gate, Roch. ; Watery Gate, Chip. ; White Gate, Mossley ; Wingates, Wigan. (2) Butt Yeats, Wray ; Hang Yeats, Lanc. ; Pott Yeats, Caton ; Water Yeat, B.-in-F. ; Yates, Garstang.

Gil, O. N., 'a deep, narrow glen with a stream at bottom ; brooks and tributary streams flowing through clefts in the fell side to the main river at the bottom of a vale are in Iceland called *gil*.'—Cleasby-Vigf.

E. D. D. gives the following uses of the word in the Mod. Engl. dials. : (1) 'ravine, a narrow valley or glen with precipitous or rocky banks, generally wooded with a stream running at the bottom, a dingle' (Scotl., Cumb., Westm., N. Yorks., N. Lancs., I. of M., Derby (obs.) ; Kent, Surrey, Sussex) ; (2) 'a rivulet or mountain stream, the bed of a stream' (Aberd., Roxb., Westm., N. Yorks.).

The Sturl. Saga has *Branda-gil*, *Hrafna-gil*, *Vikings-gil*, Icel.

Among Mod. Engl. forms we find : *Admergil*, *Ramsgil*, W. R. Yorks. ; *Coatgill*, *Ellergill*, *Howgill*, *Outhgill*, etc., Westm.

Lancashire Names.—Aikengill, Wray ; Anac Gill, Caton ; Antley Gill, Roeb. ; Ash Gill Beck, Con. ; Crossgill, Caton ; Gill Barn, Garst. ; Gill Head, Hawks. ; Gillmoss, Liv. ? ; Hall Gill, Wyres. ; Hamstone Gill Wood, Wray ; Hasty Gill, Ulv. ; Long House Gill, Con. ; Low Gill, Roeb. ; Middle Gill, Roeb. ; Scargill Fm., Carn. ; Summersgill, Roeb. ; Thrushgill, Roeb.

Gold, O. E., ' gold.' The same in most Gmc. languages ; O. Sax., O. Fris. *gold*, the latter also *goud* ; O. H. G. *golt*, *gold* ; O. N. *gull*.

In pl. ns. seems generally to refer to colour. Perhaps sometimes a pers. n.

Goldhanger, Ess. ; *Goldthorpe*, Notts.

Continental.—*Goldacker*, Düsseld., cp. *Goldenacre*, nr. Edinburgh ; *Goldenstedt*, Vechta ; *Goldbach*, Bav. ; *Goldberg*, Brandenb. ; *Goldene Ane*, Pr. Saxony. Mod. Norw. : *Guldhang* (*hang*=' hill, height ').

Lancashire Name.—Golbourne, Wigan.

Gorst, O. E., ' gorse, furze, bramble.'

Mod. dial forms (gos, gōst, gost). Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns. gives *Goscote*, earlier *Gorsticote* and *Gorscote*. *Gosmore* in Herts. might well have this word in the first element, though Mr. Skeat (Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 69) assumes this to be *gōs-*. Failing any old forms, this is of course mere conjecture. It may be right, but there are other possibilities.

Gorst Hill, Worcs., and *Gorsley*, Glos., seem certainly to contain our element.

Lancashire Name.—Gorsey Cop.

Gōs, O. E., name of the bird, ' goose ' ; Mod. Fris. *goes* ; O. H. G. *gans*.

This word seems to occur in the following O. E. local names :—*Gōsdæne*, C. D., v. p. 148 (900) ; *gōsleage wege*, C. D., v. p. 195 (931) ; *gōsebrōc*, C. D., iii. p. 215 ; *Gooseig* (Berks., Goosey, dated 821, but must be a late copy), Thorpe's Dipl., p.64.

In many names beginning with *Goose-* it must be open to question whether the first element is the name of the bird, or a pers. n. O. E. *Gōsa*, q. v. under *Goosenargh*, Pt. I. above.

However geese play an important part in the domestic economy of a rural population, and it is natural that the rights of feeding

in this or that place should find a record in the name. E. D. D. gives *goosegarth*, 'enclosure in a farmstead for geese' (Nth. Country and M. Yorks.), and *goose gait*, 'a right of pasturing geese on a common' (Cumb., M. Yorks.). *Gosbrook*, Staffs, contains this word, Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns., p. 68.

We find such names as *Goosekamp* and *Gosenbach*, Westfäl.; and *Gansgrün*, Saxony; *Gansheim*, Swabia, etc.

In Mod. Norw. there is *Gaasviken* and *Gaasöien* (cp. *Goosey* above), etc.

Lancashire Names. — Goosebutts, Clith.; Goose Green, Cockerham.

Græf, O. E., 'ditch, trench.'

Lancashire Name.—Wargrave, St. Helens.

Græfa, O. E. wk. fem., 'bush, bramble, brushwood, thicket, grove.'

This word does not find a place in B.-T., but see the long and important note on it in Crawf. Ch., p. 61. N. and S. give several examples of the word from Wright-Wülcker, and refer to passages in Birch's Chs. where it occurs.

The word is found in M. E. in Ormulum, l. 9210, in the sense of an impenetrable thicket, and in a well-known passage in Chaucer's Knight's Tale, l. 637—:

> And with his stremes dryeth in the *grēves*,
> The silver dropes hanging on the lēves.

Both of these passages are cited by N. and S.

The length (grēves) is proved by the verse of Ormulum, and the quality of the vowel also by Chaucer's rhyme. *Lēves* is from O. E. *lēāf*, and therefore had an 'open *ē*' (ɛ̄) in M. E. This shows that the *æ* in O. E. *græfa* is a mutated form of earlier *ā*, Gmc. *ai*, as in the O. E. word *grāf* (q. v. below). The normal development of *græfa* is *greave*, and the spelling of this word also points to M. E. (ɛ̄), and O. E. mutated *ā*. The Mod. dialects use *greave* in the sense of 'a grove, a division of a wood' (E. D. D.).

In O. E.—on ðа *blacangræfan*, Birch, ii. 364 (931); *Cæfcan græfan*, Crawf. Ch., i. l. 35, p. 2, and Ch. ii. l. 26, p. 4.

Lancashire Names.—Barcliff Greave, Dalt.; Boarsgreave, Roch.; Bowgrave, Garstang; Caldshaw Greave, Garst.; Gargreave, Ulv.; Greave, Ross.; Greave Clough Head, Garst.; Greaves Town, Preston; High Greaves, Ulv.; Howgreave, Clith.; Ramp Greaves, Cart.; Ramsgreave, Blackb'n; Rose Greave, Chip.

Græġ, Grēġ, O. E., 'grey'; O. Sax. *grāo, grē*, 'grau'; O. Fris. *grē*; O. H. G. *grā, crā*; O. Sc. *grār*, 'grey.'

Dial Usage.—*Greybeds*, 'arenaceous shale, generally grey or buff-coloured' (Northumb.); *Greyport*='grey sandstone' (Northumb.); *grey-slate*, 'a sandstone'; *grey-stone*; *grey wedlers*, 'so-called Druid stones, large blocks of sarsen stone on Beds. and Wilts. downs; *grey whin* = 'a hard, dirty brown quartzose stratum'; *grey-yoads*, 'a circle of stones near Cumwhinton, Cumberld.

Lancashire Names.—Graythwaite, Hawks.; Gray Stones, Burnl.; Grey Wood, Wray.

Græs, Gærs, O. E., 'grass'; O. Fris. *gers, gres*; O. Sax. *gras*; O. H. G. *gras, cras.*

In O. E. Pl. Names we find *Gersdune*, C. D., i. p. 56 (701); *Greswyllan brōc*, C. D., v. p. 367 (956); *Grestune*, C. D., vi. p. 170 (1015), etc.

Staffs. *Grazeley* (Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns., p. 70) shows the voicing of O. E. *s* between vowels in the oblique cases. No doubt many Engl. pl. ns. beginning *Gres-*, *Grass-*, and *Gars-* contain this element, but it is dangerous to speculate without seeing the early forms. See for instance the early forms of *Garstang*, which throw a very different light on the meaning of the name.

Lancashire Names.—(1) Grassgarth, Cartm.; Grass Guards, Coniston; Gressingham. (2) Garston, Liverpool.

Grāf, O. E., 'grove.'

Constantly used as an independent word in O. E. in land boundaries. See examples given in B.-T. This word appears to have no precise cognates in the other Gmc. languages. It would be **greif* in O. H. G. and **grēf* in O. Sax., but these forms are not found. It is rather remarkable that although the word so commonly occurs in pl. ns., and although it is in common use in standard Engl., the E. D. D. examples of the usage of it in the Mod. dialects seem for the most part to be due to confusion with *grave* and *groove*, which are quite independent words, probably in no way connected with O. E. *grāf*. It is possible that some name ending in *-grave* really has this word with M. E. shortening of *ā* in the unstressed syllable, and subsequent spelling-pronunciation.

There are no lack of names in *-grove*:—*Bromsgrove*, Worcs.; *Eagrove*, Somers.; *Hengrove*, Kent; *Warpsgrove*, Oxon.

A closely related suffix is *-greave*, which see above.

I note that N. and S. point out that **grofe* would be a more

normal Mod. form of *grāf* than *grove* (cp. *hlāf—loaf*), and suggest that the final voiced cons. may be due to the influence of *greve* (see above). But surely the *v* is due to the inflected forms (*—grafe*, etc.) in a strong no less than in a weak noun.

Lancashire Names.—Firgrove, Littleb. ; Hargrove, Burnley ; Hollen Grove, Nels. ; Poplar Grove, Garstang ; Rose Grove, Ross ; Throstle Grove, Carn. ; Water Grove, Littleb.

Grēne, O. E., ' green,' the colour ; O. Sax. *grōni* ; O. Fris. *grēne* ; O. H. G. *gruoni, kruoni*, etc. ; O. N. *grænn.*

In O. and M. E. the word is always an adjective expressing colour. The derived sense of ' common land,' etc., is presumably quite modern.

In O. E. we find *Grēnstede*, C. D., iii. p. 272 (Greensted, Essex) ; *Grēneburgan*, C. D., iv. p. 254 (1043) ; *on grenandune*, Crawf. Ch., i. l. 27, p. 2 (probably *Grendon*, Devon, N. and S.'s note, p. 55) ; *in Grēneford* (1066) (*Greenford*, Middles.), Thorpe's Dipl., p. 403, and C. D., iv. p. 177.

In Mod. names this element often appears as *Gren-*, cp. *Grendon* above, and *Grin-*, cp. *East Grinstead* ; *Grindly*, Staffs., thirteenth century *Grēneleye* ; and *Grindon*, Staffs., D. B. *Grēndone* ; Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns. Note further that *Greenwich* is pronounced (grinidž) in spite of its archaic spelling.

Lancashire Names.—Green Bank, Rib. ; Green Hows, Stav. ; Greenbank, B.-in-F. ; Greenburn, Con. ; Greenhalgh, Garstang. ; Greenodd, Ulv. ; Greenslack, B.-in-F.

Grūnd, O. E., ' ground, bottom, foundation.' Common to all Gmc. languages.

The following Mod. dial. uses of *ground*, noted by E. D. D., have a bearing on this element in pl. ns :—(1) ' field, piece of land enclosed for agricultural purposes ' (Northants., Warwcs., Worcs., Shrops., Glos., Oxf., Wilts., Dors., Somers., Dev.) ; (2) ' a farm, especially an outlying one,' generally in pl. (Scotl., Galloway, Lakel., Warwcs., Northants.) ; (3) ' land or landed estate in a particluar district ' (Dumbart., Gallow., Cumb.) ; (4) ' plantation of willows ' (W. country).

In Germany there are *Amselgrund*, Saxony ; *Hildegrund* ; *Hollegrund*, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Atkinson Ground, Hawks. ; Bank Ground, Hawks. ; High Ground, Con. ; Low Ground's Wood, Hawks. ; Holme Ground, Con. ; Keen Ground, Hawks. ; Park Ground, Con. ; Roger Ground, Hawks. ; Sand Ground, Hawks. ; Sawrey Ground, Hawks. ; Whineray Ground, B.-in-F.

H

(ġe)hæġe, O. E., Mod. *Hey*, 'land fenced in, paddock, garden.' Cp. also the O. E. verb *ġehæġan*, *ġeheġan*, 'to surround with a hedge.' These words are cognate with O. E. *haga* (q. v.) and *heċġ*.

ġehæġe or *hæġe* is the form which gives rise to the common *hay* or *hey* in Mod. pl. ns. Originally, no doubt, *hæġ*(e) meant 'hedge, fence, boundary,' and *ġehæġe* that which was fenced in. In M. E. *hei* or *hay*, meant both 'hedge,' and that which was enclosed thereby.

The O. E. word occurs apparently in the O. E. pl. n. *Hæġlea* (955), C. D., v. p. 530, and *Hæghylles*, C. D., v. p. 153.

According to E. D. D. *Hay* in the Mod. dial. means (1) 'hedge fence, boundary,' in which sense it is used in E. Angl., W. Yorks., Lancs., and Derb.; and (2) 'a place fenced round, an enclosure,' which meaning it has in Lancs. as well as in the south and south-west of England.

Lancashire Names.—Abbey Hey, A.-u-L.; Carry Heys, Nels.; Harpurhey, Manch.; Haigh, Wigan; Hey, Rossendale; Dale Hey, Ribchester; Hey Hurst, Ribchester; Moor Hey, Garst.; Heyrod, Mossley; Heyroyd, Nels.; Heysham, Lanc.; Heyside, Oldh.; Heywood, Bury; Ingheys, Nels.; Oxhey, Rib.; Peacock Hey, Chip.; Pool Heys, Southpt.; Ridding Hey, Clith.; Roger Hey; Clith.; Storrock Hey, Blackb'n; Wood Heys, Ribch.

Hærg, *hærh*, 'heathen temple, place of worship, also idol,'; other O. E. forms *hearg*, *hearh*, *herg*, etc. O. H. G. *haruc*, *haruch*; O. N. *horgr*; M. E. *-ar*, *argh*, *-ark*.

The word is common in O. E. as an independent word, e.g. *heora hergas towearp*—templa subvertit, Oros., p. 114.

The word is also found in pl. ns. in O. E. Chs., etc., e.g. *Besingahearh*, Cod. Dipl., v. p. 35 (688); *gameninga hergae*, ibid. i. p. 142 (767); D. B. has *Piperherge*, Survey, 36=*Peperharrow*; *æt hearge* in the Ch. of Wulfred, 825. Cod. Dipl., i. p. 282, refers to *Harrow*. Cp. Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx., ubi *hearh*; also Middendorff, p. 70.

The word appears hardly to occur in Continental pl. ns., but Müllenhof (quoted by Jellinghaus, loc. cit.) suggest its survival in Holstein *Harrie*.

In Norway we find the Mod. names *Horgen*, *Horgjem*, cp. Rygh, i. p. 299,

Mod. Lancashire names containing the element.—Anglezark, Goosnargh, Grimsargh, Harrowslack, Kellamergh, Medlar, Torver, Sholver (q.v.).

The Middle and Mod. Engl. forms in *-harrow* are from the oblique cases and presuppose the O. E. *æt herge*, etc.

Hæsel, O. E. ' hasel ; O. Sax. *hesli* ; O. H. G. *hasal, hasul,* etc. The O.E. adj. hæslen also exists.

There are plenty of pl. ns. in the O. E. Chs. with this word as a first element—*Hasulhurst*, C. D., v. p. 19 (a very late copy of a Ch. dated by K. ' before 675 ' !) ; *Hæslwic*, C. D., v. p. 313 ; *Hæselholt*, C. D., v. p. 243 (late copy of Ch. dated 939) ; *Haeseldaen*, C. D., i. p. 248 (811), etc., etc. Other examples are given by Middendorff, p. 66.

In Continental names we find field names such as *Auf dem Hassel, in den Hasseln* (Westfäl., see Jellinghaus, Westf., O. N., p. 42) ; *Hasalbelle* (in 1050, now unidentified), *Hasselberg* (near Düsseldorf), etc., cp. Leithaeuser, p. 209. This element is found also in Mod. Norw. pl. ns.—*Hesleskog, Hesleberg.*

Lancashire Names.—Hasel Rigg, Stav. ; Haselhurst, ; Haselwood, Silverw. (Haslingden, Ross, probably contains the adj. *hæslen*. See this name in Pt. I. above.)

Hafoc, heafoc O. E. ' hawk ' ; O. Sax. *haboc* ; M. Dutch *havic havk* ; Mod. Fris. *hauke* ; O. H. G. *habuh, hapuh.*

This word was used in O. E. and probably in most other old Gmc. tongues as a pers. n. It is often difficult or impossible to say whether in any given pl. n. it referred originally to the bird, or to a gentleman of the same name. See remarks above under *Hawkshead.* It seems probable that in names which retain the *-s* of the gen. the element was a man's name, though the absence of this suffix does not prove the contrary.

In O. E. Pl. Names we have *Haboccumb* (716-43), C. D., iii. p. 378 ; *Hafucford* (854), C. D., v. p. 103 ; *heafuchrycge* (962), C. D., iii. p. 459 ; and—in this case certainly a pers. n.—*hafoccs hlewe* (969), C. D., iii. p. 48=' Hawk's burial mound.'

In Continental Pl. Names this element is found—*Havichbeck*, Westfäl. ; *Habighorst*, Westfäl. (cp. Engl. *Hawkhurst*); *Habichtstal*, Bav. ; perhaps also in *Habsburg*. *Haukesleat* is the name of a stream in Wymbritseradeel, Dijkstra, iii. p. 148.

Lancashire Names.—Hawkfield, Dalton ; Hawkley Hall, Makerfield ; Hawkshaw, Bury. [In *Hawkswell* and *Hawkshead*, the first element is very probably a pers. n. See, however, these names in Pt. I. above.]

Hafri, O. N. ' oats ' ; M. E. *havir*, cp. O. Sax. *havaro* ; O. H. G. *habaro, habiro*, etc. ; Mod. Norw. *havre, hævre* (Aasen, p. 271).

The word is not found in O. E., though it may well have existed in the form **hæfer* or **hafor*. It occurs in Mod. Engl. dial.—*haver*, meaning 'oats' both wild and cultviated; in the former sense, in Yorks. and Lincs; in the latter in Northumb., Durh., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., and Lincs. Cp. E. D. D.

The prefix *Haver-* occurs in several Mod. Engl. pl. ns., but without examining the early forms it is dangerous to assert its origin. Probably *Havercroft* in W. R. Yorks. contains this word.

Lancashire Names.—Haverholt, Nels.; Haverigg Holme, Con. [In Haverthwaite, Stav., we may have this element, or more probably an O. N. pers. n. See the name in Pt. I. above.]

Haga, O. E., Mod. *Haw-*, 'a place fenced in, an enclosure, a dwelling in a town.'

B.-T. quotes from a ch. in C. D., iv. 86, in support of the last definition—*se haga binnan port ðe Ægelric himsylfan getimbrod hæfde*. Dutch *Haag*, and O. H. G. *hag*, *hac*, which are cognates, mean 'Einhegung, Verzäunung.'

The Mod. dial. usages of *haw*, according to E. D. D., are:—(1) 'a small piece of land adjoining a house, a close, a small yard or closure'; (2) 'a small wood or coppice'; (3) 'a dwelling enclosed by wood'; (4) 'a depression in a wood.' Apparently, however, the independent word is not used in Lancs., though it is in Yorks.

The independent word is used in the sense of 'courts, dwellings' in Beowulf, 2961—'*syððan Hrēðlingas to hagan þrungon*.'

In Pl. Names, cp. *haganleahe* (Hawley, Worcs. ?), C. D., iii. p. 79. The Yorks. *Haworth*, which in D. B., 62*b*, appears as *Hageneuuorde*, may contain this word, unless indeed the first element here be a pers. n. According to Duignan (Worcs. Pl. Ns.), *The Hawn* in Worcs. represents the dat. *hagan*, but some explanation is required in that case of the survival of the final *-n*.

Continental Names in the cognate *hagen* are common:—*Auenhagen*; *Hagenbusch*, Barmen.; *Rothenhagen*, Westfäl.; also in the variant *hahn—Altenhahn*, Waldberg; *Grüne Hahn*, Rhn. Pr.; *Wolfhag*, Baden; *Hagenau*, Alsace.

Lancashire Names.—Hawthwaite, B.-in-F.

Hagaþorn, 'hawthorn,' O. E.; M. H. G. *hagedorn*, *hagdorn*; O. Low. G. *haginthorn*.

This like other trees was used as a boundary-mark, though the name does not occur in C. D. (Index) except in the form *hægyðe*

þorn; nor does it seem common in Mod. pl. ns. *Hawthorn* occurs, however, in Durh., and *Hawthornden* just outside Edinburgh.

Hagedorn, *Hagdorn*, and *Hahdorn* all occur in the Rhn. Prov.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Hawthornthwaite, Wyresdale.

Halh, healh, O. E.; Mod. forms *hale* and *haugh*.

It is impossible to determine the precise and original meaning of this O. E. word, for although it occurs fairly often in pl. ns. and designations of localities, the passages throw no very clear light upon its significance. Cp. for instance, *to east heale*, Crawf. Ch., xi. 53, p. 25. Bede in Bk. iv. Ch. 23 explains *Streoneshalh* to mean 'sinus fari,' and if this be taken literally, *halh* would mean a 'bay,'in this case a sea bay. See also discussion and further references in Miller's Pl. Ns. in Bede, pp. 38 and 39.

In a 'Vision of Leofric,' edited by Napier, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1908, the word occurs in the phrase *and ġefeall him in anan hēāle*, pp. 183-4, where the context makes it certain that a 'corner' of a room is meant.

We might perhaps assume from this rather unsatisfactory evidence that the word in O. E. when used in local designations meant a hollowed-out area, a 'bay,' a 'retreat.'

Middendorff connects the word with Latin *calx*, 'heel,' and says it means 'Erdvorsprung, Fels Anhöhe, Abhang,' but this is a mere guess, and Walde, Latein. Etym. Wb., does not mention *halh* as a possible cognate of the Latin word. If it be true that the word is cognate with *calx*, then the name may refer to the shape of the land, and might imply either a small hill, or a field in the fancied shape of a hough or heel. The etymology is obscure, but one might assume a Gmc. *halh* from Idg. **kolk"os*, and identify the latter with Greek κόλπος. (For another explanation of the latter word, see Prelwitz, Etymol. Wb.) Seeing that κόλπος means both 'lap or bosom,' and 'creek or bay of the sea,' the identification of this word with *halh* is tempting

The evidence for the Middle English usage does not help us much. Stratmann-Bradley under *halh*, gives '*haugh*, *meadow*.' The word occurs in the form *hawch* in Gavin Douglas's Enid, iv. 168, and Barbour's Bruce, xvi. 336.

THE MODERN FORMS AND THEIR MEANINGS.—Corresponding to the above M. E. form which is from, the old nom. or acc., we get Mod. dial. *haugh*=(hɔ̄, hāh, hāf), and from the O. E. inflected cases—*hēāle*, *hāle*, the Mod. form *hale*. Of course O. E. *hāle* would become M. E. *hōle*, but since the Mod. *hale* undoubtedly exists, we must necessarily assume a M. E. *hāle*, which may have

arisen from an O. E. **hăle*, instead of *hāle*, with a short vowel, on the analogy of nom. *hălh*. The regular M. E. *hōle* from O. E. *hāle* actually occurs sometimes. Cp. *Grenole* under *Greenalh*.

The E. D. D. gives the following meanings of *haugh* and *hale*, which, among many irrelevant ones, seem to concern us :—(1) *haugh* (variously pronounced), 'low-lying level ground by the side of a river' (Scotl., Nthumb., Durh., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs.) ; (2) *hale*, 'a piece of flat alluvial land by the side of a river, a sandbank' ; also 'a triangular corner of land, a *gair*, a bank, or strip of grass separating lands in an open field' (Lincs.). See further under *Hale*, Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 29. For the possibilities of development of this element in unstressed position, cp. the early forms of *Greenall* or *Greenhalg*. The Mod. pronunciation of this element as (hældž) is due apparently to the spelling.

Lancashire Names.—(1) As *-halgh* : Broad Halgh, Bury ; Cumeralgh, Whitt. ; Dunkernhalgh, Black. ; Fernyhalgh. Rib. W. ; Greenhalgh Garst. ; Midghalgh, Bilst. ; Whitehalghfield, Clith. ; Whittle le Wood ? (2) As *-all* : Caterall ; Chisnall, Wigan ; Crumpsall, Manch. ; Downall, Green. ; Ellel, Lanc. ; Gamall Lane End, Perst. ; Hackensall, Fleetw. ; Hallsall. Liv.; Halsnead, Prescot ; Hothersall, Rib. ; Ightenhall, Burn. ; Nuttall, Rochd. ; Ordsall (Lane), Manch. ; ?Preesall, Fleetw. ; ?Rossall, Fleetw. Stainall ?, Fleetw.

Hām, O. E., 'home, house, abode, estate' ; O. Sax. *hēm* ; O. H. G. *haim, heim* ; Goth. *heims* ; O. N. *heimr*.

Outside Gmc. this word is related to O. Prus. *caymis* ; Lith. *kẽmas*, 'village.' It was formerly assumed that all these words were related to Gk. *κεῖ-μαι*, 'I lie down,' etc., and *κώμη*, 'village,' but this is now disputed. The Gk. *κει-* goes back to Idg. **kei-*, whence also Lat. *cīvis* and O. E. *hīw*, Goth. *heiwa-* ; *κώμη, haims, caymis*, are from Idg. **k^{w}oi-*. (Cp. Hirt Bezzenbergers Beitr., xxiv. p. 286, and Walde, Latein Etym. Wb., ubi *cīvis*.)

A very common element as a suffix in English pl. ns. In a few cases the identity of the suffix *ham* in O. E. pl. ns. as O. E. *hām* and not *ham*(*m*) is assured in O. E. by the spelling *-haam* (cp. Middendorff, p. 53), otherwise, as stated above (*Hamm* (1)), it is impossible to be certain. When unstressed, as it was when used as a suffix in names, the word *hām* became, probably during the O. E. period, levelled under the other words, *in form*. Since *hamm* (1) meant an enclosed bit of land, and this conception was the root idea of another common suffix *-tūn*, which got to mean 'settlement, village, etc.,' it seems probable that *hām* and *ham*(*m*) were often confused, even in the early period both in

form and meaning, and that the originally distinct words became merged in a single form having the idea of 'village, hamlet,' etc. In Lancashire we sometimes find the Norse form *heim* written in pl. ns. in the early period, instead of English *-ham*, and this would seem to imply the existence of *-hām* originally in these names, or of course they may be Norse from the start. [N.B.—In the following lists of names in *-ham* and *-am*, no attempt is made to distinguish the three words *-hamm* 1 and 2, and *-hām*. Note further that in some cases the early forms show confusion between *-hom* and *-holm*, cp. under *Oldham* in Pt. I.].

Lancashire Names.—(1) Appearing as *ham*: Aldingham, Barrow; Altham, Burn.; Askam, Dalt.; Avenham, Poulton; Bispham, Poulton; Chesham, Bury; Cockerham; Coolham, Burn.; Cottam, Preston; Dallam, Warr.; Downham, Burn.; Eastham, Lyth.; Eskham, Garst.; Frigham (Chaf.), Nels.; Habergham Eaves, Burn.; Hestham, Morec.; Heysham, Morec.; Higham, Burnl.; Hillam, Lanc.; Inghams, Burn.; ? Irlam, Eccl.; Kirkham; Marsham, Wyres.; Newsham, Bilsb.; Oldham; Padisham; ? Penwortham; Ritherham, Fleetw.; Skittam, Garst.; Spunham, B.-in-F.; Tatham, Wray; Thornham, Rochd.; Thurnham, Lanc.; Waitham Hill, B.-in-F.; Wesham, Garst.; Whittingham, Rib. W. (2) As *-am*: Coolam, Garst.; Hillam, Lanc.; Irlam, Eccl.; Skittam, Garstang.

(1) **Hamm, homm,** O. E., 'piece of land, dwelling, enclosure' [Sweet]; 'dwelling fold, enclosed possession' [B.-T.]; 'that which surrounds, encloses, *hems* or defends something' [Kemble, C. D., iii. p. xxviii.]

Kemble identifies the base of this word, no doubt correctly, with O. E. *-homa*, 'coat, covering.' The O. E. word *hem(m)*, 'hem or border,' also exists, which looks like a mutated form from Gmc. **hamja-*. From the same source is Germ. *hemmen* > **hammjan*, 'to hem in, set a limit or border to,' etc.

Kemble (loc. cit.) says that this element (*hom*, etc.) in local English names is probably a 'place *hemmed*, surrounded, and defended': it can thus mean only a dwelling, fold, or enclosed possession.' Again: . . . 'it is so frequently coupled with words implying the presence of water as to render it probable, that, like the Friesic *hemmen*, it denotes a piece of land surrounded with paling, wickerwork, etc., and so defended against the stream which would otherwise wash it away.'

It is impossible to distinguish this element in O. E. Pl. Ns. from *Homm* (2), and indeed either of them from the element *hām*

(q. v.), unless we get the spelling *-homm* or *-hamm*, in which case it is at least certain that the element is not *-hām*. According to N. and S. it occurs in *Cyppenhamm* (Chippenham, Wilts.), Crawf. Ch., iv. 64. Cp. note on p. 77. As an independent word *homm* (1) occurs in boundaries, *ðonne geūðe ic Ælfwine and Beortulfe ðes leas and ðes hammes be norþan ðære littlan dič*, C. D., iii. p. 421.

In Mod. Engl. dial. *ham* means (1) 'flat, low-lying pasture near a stream or river' (Notts., Northants., Glos., Suss., Wilts., Dors., Dev., Cornw.); (2) 'a stinted common pasture for cows.' In Minshew's Guide into Tongues occurs the phrase 'a *hamme* or a little plot of ground by the Thames side.'

See also Jellinghaus on this word, Anglia, xx. pp. 286 and 287. J. apparently assumes a common origin for *hamm* (1) and (2), though he distinguishes the meanings. Cp. further Skeat, Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 19, and Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 30, and Middendorff, pp. 63-4.

(2) **Hamm, homm**, O. E., 'the ham, inner or hind part of the knee.' The word is also used to denote the bend of a river.

Jellinghaus (Westfäl. Ortsn., p. 40) says that the Continental, Low German *ham* means the bend of the knee or 'ham,' thence the bend in a river or stream, then a bay in a river, then a resting-place for ships, then a corner of land by the water, generally overgrown with grass and serving as pasture. Thence, he says, Middle Dutch *ham, hamme*, meant 'pratum, pascuum.' Leithaeuser (Bergische Ortsn., p. 32) takes the root meaning of *ham* to be 'something bent or crooked,' whence on the one hand the meaning 'knee, etc.' and on the other an enclosed pasture. The element is common in Low German pl. ns. L. cites from Dornkaat, the O. Fris. names, *Fertmareshem* (*Farmsam*), *Fresbrahteshem* (*Freepsum*), *Paweshem* (*Pewsam*), etc. Jellinghaus mentions several *Hams* but none in compounds. Among English pl. ns. *Fulham*, for which Parker Chron. (ann. 879 and 880) has *æt Fullanhamme be Temese*, and on *Fullan homme*, and presumably *Eastham*, on the Mersey, in Cheshire, may be mentioned.

It will be observed that both Jellinghaus and Leithaeuser appear to regard our *Hamm* (1) and (2) as the same word differentiated in meaning. Skeat (loc. cit.) under *Hamm* (1) makes no distinction. Both Sweet and Bosworth-Toller, however, treat them as separate words.

Those Lancs. pl. ns. which have their earliest forms in *-hom, -om*, and *-um*, probably belong to one of the *Homm's* and not to *-hām*. The last two suffixes, however, may also stand for an old Dat. Pl.

Hār, O. E., 'hoar, grey, old.'

This word is much used in O. E. with words indicating boundaries, for instance *to hāran þorne*, Crawf. Ch., xi. 55, p, 25 (1007); *to ðam hāran stane*, C. D., iii. p. 389 (816). In the Worcester MS. of the A.-S. Chronicle it is stated that when Harold heard of Duke William's arrival at Hastings he '*com him togenes æt þære hāran apuldran* (Plummer's Ed., i. p. 199). On the use of *hār* see also Middendorff, who refers to this passage from the Chron. See also Duignan, Worcs. Pl. Ns., under *Hcarstone*, who cites N. E. D. in support of the view that *hār* in O. E. simply meant boundary in such contexts as the above. The same element occurs in the names *Harborne* and *Hoar Cross* (Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns.).

Lancashire Names.—? Hardhorn (see discussion under this name in Pt. I. above); Hare Appletree, Wyresd.; Harwood, Blackb.

Hēafod, O. E. 'head'; O. Sax. *hōbid*; O. Fris. *hāved*; O. H. G, *houpit*; Goth. *haubiþ*; O. N. *hōfuð*.

In reference to topographical features, O. E. *hēāfod*, according to Kemble (C. D., iii. p. xxix) was 'the commencing point, or the highest point, of a field, of a stream, a hill, etc.' He instances *croftes hēāfod—ut æt ðæs croftes hēāfod*, C. D., iii. p. 37. *Heafodland*, says K., is 'the upper portion of a field, generally left unploughed, for convenience of passage,' etc. In a Ch. of Edgar (967), C. D., iii. p. 10, there are several examples of the use of *hēāfod*, which refer to part of a field :—'Andlang dices on ðone ealdan stoc; ðonan on ġerihte be ðam *hēāfdan*; . . . ðonan upp on ðone mære; ðanon on ġerihte be ðam *hēāfdan* andlanges fyrh: æft be ðam *heafdan* andlanges furh on ðone smalan gare, etc. Other examples of the use of this element are—*Suinesheabde* (786-96), C. D., i. p. 201; *to dunheafdan* (955), C. D., iii. p. 434; *Cynestanes heafod* (956), C. D., iii. p. 439; *on beran heafde* (708), C. D., iii. p. 376; *Hengestes heafod* (769-85), C. D., iii. p. 385. In the Crawford Ch. N. and S. record six examples of the use of *hēāfod* after names compounded with *-cumb*, *Byrecumbes-*, *Droscumbes-*, *Foxcumbes-*, *Holancumbes-*, *Hurrancumbes-*, and *Wulfcumbesheafod*. The first of these was known as *Brygcombes heauyd* in the fifteenth century. Cp. note on p. 55 of Crawf. Ch.

The Mod. dial. uses of *head*, which concern us, are—(1) 'the higher end of a place, the upper part of a street, the upper part of a dale, a hill or eminence'; (2)'the source of a spring, of a stream, or river.'

On the Continent such names as *Berghaupten*, Baden; *Schweineshaupten*, Bavaria; *Thierhaupten*, Bavaria, occur. Mod. Norw. names are *Borgenhovedet*, *Fosshovedet*. *Ingulfshofði*, *Seljahofði*, *Hofða-brekka* are O. Icel. names which occur in the Sturl. Saga.

In Mod. English pl. ns. the M. E. *hēued* sometimes appears in unstressed syllables as *-et* (cp. Whasshet), or has been confused, when preceded by the *-s* of the gen. case, with *side*. Cp. *Arnside*.

Lancashire Names.—Arnside (see early forms); Buersill Head, Roch.; Castle Head, Grange; Clay Lane head, Garst.; Fearnhead, Warr.; Greenhead, Burn.; Hartshead, A.-u-L.; Hawkshead; Henheads, Ross.; Hollinshead Hall, Riv.; Mickle-head Green, Liv.; Oakenhead, Higher, Garst.; Shireshead, Garst.; Swainshead, Wyres.; Westhead, Ormsk. (2) Arnside, Higher Hawks. (cp. old forms in Pt. I.); Affeside, Dar. The second element doubtful; may be same as in Arnside :—Border Side, Wyres.; Ellerside, Cart.-Stav.; Fellside, Garst., etc.?; Gambleside, Ross; Hammerside Point, Ulv.; Heyside, Ulv.

Heall, O. E. 'hall, residence'; O. Sax. *halla*; O. H. G. *halla*.

The O. E. word glosses *aula*. Cp. Ælfric's Gloss., 61, 107.

It is always doubtful in Mod. pl. ns. whether the suffix *-hall* really represents the above O. E. word, or *halh*, etc. (q. v.). The undoubted cases where *heall* occurs in pl. ns. are very few even in O. E. Kemble, C. D., iii. p. xxix, cites *Wreodanhal*, 1, p. 166, and refers to Ch. cccclii., which has *of hwitan heale*, *on hwitan heal*, in the boundaries, C. D., iii. p. 444. The names in *-hall*, discussed by Skeat (Herts. Pl. Ns., pp. 29, 30) appear all to have had *halh* originally.

The Mod. Dial. uses of *hall* are, amongst others :—'house, home, farm-house, or cottage' (Scotl., Nthmb., Durh., Yorks., Lancs., Staffs., Suff., Kent, Suss., Cornw.).

The word was applied in O. E. both to the chief chamber of a great man's home, where he and his retainers feasted, and, by extension, to the house or dwelling itself. Cp. Beowulf passim.

Lancashire Names.—Acornley Hall, Nels.; Agecroft Hall, Eccl.; Ashlack Hall, B.-in-F.; Astley Hall, Chorl.; Bailey Hall, Rib.; ? Becconsall, Hesk.; Bartle Hall, Bilsb.; Bell Hall, Ulv.; ? Downall Green; Duckworth Hall, Black.; ? Ellel, Lanc.; Fanny Hall, Poulton; ? Gowan Hall, Carnf.; Hall Garth, Carn.; Hall Gill, Wyres.; Hall Green, Liv. and Longton; Hall i' th' Wood, Bolt.; ? Halliwell, Bolt.; ? Hallstead, B.-in-F.; ? Hall-

sall, Liv.; ? Halsnead, Presc.; ? Halton, Carn.; Pickthall, B.-in-F.; ? Preesall, Fleetw.; Prese Hall, Blackp'l.

Heals, Hals, O. E., 'neck'; Goth., O. Sax., O. Fris., O. H. G. *hals*; O. Norse *hāls*.

Mod. Engl. dial. *halse* (hās, has, hōs) means (1) 'neck,' etc.; (2) 'a defile, narrow passage between mountains'; (3) 'a narrow connecting ridge.' (E. D. D.). Used in Cumb., N. E. Lancs. The further meaning of 'a shallow in a river' does not seem to be the force of the element in *Wrynose Hause*.

In O. Norse the word *hāls* is used to denote 'hill or ridge, especially in Iceland, of the low fells dividing two parallel dales' (Cleasby- Vigf.). We have no examples in O. E. of this word being applied in a topographical sense, it therefore seems probable that when it occurs in Engl. pl. ns. it is of Norse origin. Vigfusson cites the O. N. names *Glystaða-hāls*, *Reynivalla-hāls*; *Kālfs-hals* occurs in the Sturl. Saga.

Lancashire Names.—Long Hawse Gill, Con.; Wrynose Hause, Con.

Henn, O. E., 'hen'; M. Dutch *henne*; O. H. G. *hanina*, etc.

This element appears to exist in several O. E. pl. ns. *on henna, dene*, C. D., vi. p. 41 (961); *Hennariδ* (Hendred, Berks.), C. D., v. p. 341 (956), cp. on this name N. and S., Crawf. Ch. Notes, p. 72; *oþ henne stiġele*, Crawf. Ch., iv. 53 (Henstill, Devon); *on wiδi slæd to henna þorne*, C. D., v. p. 233 (938); and *henne pole*, C. D., iii. p. 187 (982). Other instances from O. E. Chs. are given by Middendorff. *Hen Brook, Henmarsh Wood* occur in Worcs. See Duignan.

Lancashire Names.—? Henthorn, Clith. (see this name in Pt. I.); Henheads, Ross.

Heordwic, O. E., literally 'herd place. In later times the *herdwic* is an appanage to a manor, 'in places with pastoral pursuits; in the centre of the dwellings of herdsmen, and the storehouses for the gathering of cheese, butter and the like' (Vinogradoff, Manor, p. 224; cp. also above under *Berewic* and *Barton*).

In the Mod. dials. of Cumb. and Westm. this word was formerly applied to the tract of land under the charge of a herd or shepherd. This usage is now obs. (E. D. D.).

As is natural, seeing its original meaning the name is common and widespread in England. Bartholomew enumerates nearly thirty examples of *Hardwick* and *Hardwicke* in all parts of the

country. It appears, however, that some of these have a different origin, thus *Hardwick* in Glos. occurs as *Herdenwyk* in the Inq. of Hen. III. No. 544, p. 164, and that in Lincs. occurs, ibid. No. 791, p. 262 as *Herthewik*.

Hlaða, 'barn,' Scand. The word is related to O. E. *hladan*, 'lade, pile up.' It occurs in the poem of Genesis and Exodus, 2134 (about 1250) :—

> 'ic rede ðe King, nu her bi-foren
> To maken *laðes* and gaderen coren.'

In Mod. Engl. Dialects the word *lathe* or *lath*, 'barn,' was formerly widespread in Nthmb., Durh., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., Derby, Notts., Lincs., Nthants., though it appears from the E. D. D. that it is now obs. or obsolesc. in most districts.

Among pl. ns. which contain this element, are probably *Lowlaiths*, E. R. Yorks., *Lattam*, W. R. Yorks.

Lancashire Names.—Lathom ; Blacko Laith, Nels. ; Far-Laith, Nels. ; Hugh Laith, Burnley ; Laithbutts, Tunstall ; Leagram ? (earlier Laythegrim), Bowland, near Whalley.

Hlāw, hlǣw, O. E., 'rising ground, an artificial as well as a natural mound, funeral mound' ; O. Sax. *hlēw*, 'grabstein,' Schade ; O. H. G. *hleo*, 'mausoleum,' agger tumulus, hügel,' Schade ; Goth. *hlaiw*.

The word is common in independent use in O. E., as well as in pl. ns. *Prentsanhlaw*, C. D., ii. p. 195 (934) ; *on stānhlæwan*, C. D., v. p. 325 (953) ; *Beaceshlawe*, C. D., iv. p. 434 (955) ; *broccæs hlæw*, C. D., iii. p. 252.

Mod. Dial. forms (lō, lā, lou), used in the sense of a 'roundish hill or eminence, a barrow, tumulus, mound, heap of stones' (Scotl., Nthmb., Yorks., Chesh., Staffs., Derb., Warwcs., Shrops., Som.) (E. D. D.).

Mod. Engl. pl. ns. ending in *-low*, *Ludlow*, etc., are derived from the O. E. form *hlā* (nom.), those in *-law*, *Laidlaw*, etc., from *hlāw*, where the *w* is introduced from the oblique cases. The form with mutation O. E. *hlæw* is apparently represented by *-lew*, *Lew Trenchard*, etc. Of course when *-low* and *-law* occur as the second element, they owe their length to the analogy of the independent word. In unstressed sylls. we should expect (lə) in Mod. Engl. as in such names as *Barkla*, *Whitla*, etc. Probably most names which are written *-low* are pronounced (lə) in the district itself. According to Förstemann (p. 49), this element

occurs in *Ritterlöhe*, and in *Leematt*, *Lechenberg*, *Löhbach* (F., p. 111).

Lancashire Names.—Barlow Moor, Manch.; Killow House, Bork.; Lowes, Clith. ?; Spellow; Warlow Pike, Mossley; Wicken Lowe, Little. Osmotherley and Kearsley have old forms in *-law*. Cp. Pt. I.

Hlid-ġeat, O. E., 'swing-gate, folding-door,' related to O. E. verb *to-hlidan*, etc., 'gape open.'

Hlidgeat leage occurs, C. D., iii. p. 419 (943); also *swa andlang hecgan on hlidgeat* in C. D., iv. p. 108 (1046).

Lidgate, pronounced (lidgət, lidjət, ligət), is still used in the Mod. dialects in the Nth. and in Lincs. in the sense of 'a swing-gate, a gate dividing common from private land,' also in Lincs. formerly, in the sense of 'a gate between ploughed land and meadow' (E. D. D.).

Lancashire Name.—Lydiate.

Hlinċ, O. E., 'link, linch, rising ground, hill.'

'*Oð þone miclan hlinċ; andlang hlinċes oð ðone lytlan eastlangan hlinċ æt norðeweardon ðam miclan hlinċe; andlang ðæs lytlan hlynċes ðæt ofer ða dene on ðes hlinċes heafod*,' C. D., v. p. 194 (931); of ðere dic on *þornhlinch* (dated 980, but evidently a late copy), C. D., iii. p. 223 (cit. B.-T.); ðonne to grenan *hlince* westweardan, C. D., iii. p. 365 (dated 956); andlang weges to *Fearnhlinċe* (900), Thorpe Dipl., p. 145.

Mod. dial. usage of *link*, *linch* is 'green wooded bank on the side of a hill, between two pieces of cultivated land, a wood garden' (Suff., Suss.) (E. D. D.).

Lancashire Name.—Cowpe Lench, Bury.

Hlīþ, O. N., 'slope, mountain side,' Cleasby-Vigf..

The corresponding O. E. word is *hliþ*, 'slope, hill,' which is shown to have a short vowel by the pl. forms *hleoþu*, etc. In many cases it is impossible from the M. E. forms to determine whether this element is long and therefore O. N., or short and therefore Engl. As the second element of names, the vowel of *hlīþ* would be shortened, though absence of stress and would therefore be indistinguishable from the O. E. word. In some cases where the word occurs as the first element of a name—as in *Lytham*, the Mod. pronunciation points to an original short vowel, and we should therefore assume the O. E. form to be the original. In others, such as *Litherland*, and the M. E. forms *Litherpul*, etc. of *Liverpool*, the suffix *-er* of the first element can hardly be explained otherwise than as the

gen. sing, of O. N.—*hlīþar*. See remarks on shortening of vowel in *Lither* on p. 180 above.

The Mod. form of the O. E. word would be (liþ), and of the O. N. (læið), 'little,' which appears to have been used at any rate in the eighteenth century in Hants. in the sense of 'a steep pasture.' Cp. White's Selborne, pp. 171 and 202, ed. of 1853.

Mod. forms derived from the O. E. pl. *hleoþum*, etc., would be *leeth*,=(lið), or (liþ). The element is rare in actual pl. ns. in O. E., but it may possibly be contained in *hliþwic* (956), C. D., ii. p. 318. The O. N. gen. perhaps is found in Yorks. *Litherskew*, and the O. N. nom. in Yorks. *Lythe*; the O. E. (hleoþum type) in Yorks. *Leathley*, earlier *Letteley*, and in the M. E. forms *Letherland Leetham*, etc. (q. v. sub *Litherland* and Lytham, Pt. I.). As a suffix, the Engl. word (hliþ type) appears to exist in Yorks. *Hanlith*, earlier *Haghenlith*, in Nomina Villarum. Cp. K.'s Inq., p. 356. The O. H. G. forms were *līta*, *hlīta*, and according to Förstemann this survives in the names *Puntleit*, *Schafleuten*, *Holzleuten*. In L. Germ. names we have *Liethberg*, *Hinterleid*, *Liedfelt* in Rhn. Prov.

Lancashire Names.—Adgarley, D.-in-F. (cp. old forms in Pt. I.); Arklid, Stav.; Holleth; Ireleth, Dalt., B.-in-F.; Kellet, Carnf.; Litherland, Liv.; Sellet Hall, Bork.

***Hlos**, O. E., ?= ?

This element, which is so far unexplained, is fairly common in O. E. pl. ns. *oþ hloslege* occurs in Crawf. Ch., iv. l. 48, p. 7. Napier and Stevenson note various other pl. ns. with this prefix (p. 70 of Crawf. Ch.)—*Hlosstede* (Dorset), Brch. Ch., iii. p. 449; *hloshryċ* (Wilts.), Brch. Ch., iii. p. 84, also C. D., iii. p. 434 (955); *Hloswudu* (Surrey), Brch. Ch., ii. p. 301, and several others. *Loscombe* (Dorset) has apparently the same element. N. and S. cite as name *hlīōs sole*, Brch. Ch., i. p. 565, whose first element, they say, may be wrongly copied for *hlos-*. But why may it not represent a different grade of ablaut—Gmc. **hleus-*; O. E. **hlēōs* (Kt., *hlīōs*)? In this case one might connect this element with the O. E. verb *hlēōtan*, *hlēāt*, *hluton*, 'to cast lots, apportion.' **Hlēōs* would represent Gmc. **hleus(s)*, Idg. **kleut-to*, earlier **kleud-to*, and *Hlos(s)* would represent Gmc. **hlussa-* from **klud-to*. The prefix in pl. ns. might apply either to places where it was the custom to cast lots, or places which had been adjudged to their owners by this method.

Lancashire Name.—Lostock.

Hlot, O. E. 'lots, portion, share,' hence 'divided rights, possessions'; O. Sax. *hlôt*; O. Fris. *hlot*; O. H. G. *hlōz*, *lōz*; O. N. *hlutr*.

In Brch. Ch., iii. p. 231, we find *ðreon manna hlot.*

The Mod. dial. uses are either quite modern, and the same as in Standard English, or have no particular light to shed.

The meaning of this element requires no discussion.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Greenlot, Caton.

***Hnōc,** O. E. ' a cleft in the ground ?, a nook, corner, angle of land.'

The word *nōk* is found in M. E. in the sense of ' nook, corner, angle,' cp. Stratmann-Bradley. The word is not recorded in O. E.. The Scotch *neuk* is the regular equivalent of Sthn. and Midl. M. E. *nōk.* The meaning of the word is clear enough, and needs no discussion, although its history and etymological relations are by no means so. See, however, Skeat, Concise Etymol. Dic. There are various words in Scandn. dialects which resemble our word, and which may or may not be related. Their etymological identity and connection with English *nook* is too shadowy to make it worth while to mention them.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Hole Nook, Fleetw. ; Radshaw Nook, Liv. ; Water's Nook, Liv. ; Nooklands, Preston.

Hōc, O. E. ' hook.' In the Mod. dial. *hook* is used of land, etc. thus—(1) ' bend or turning in a river, the land enclosed by such a bend ' ; and (2) ' a piece of land situated on a slope ' (E. D. D.).

In Brch. Ch., ii. p. 463, we have *to ginum hocum.*

The element *hōc* in pl. ns. is often a pers. n. Cp. for example under *Houghton* above.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Charnock, Chorley; Woodhock, Blackb.; Houghton.

Hofer, O. E., ' hump, swelling ' ; M. E. *hōver, houre,* etc.

In pl. ns. the word means ' hill.'

Although none of the books on pl. ns. appear to recognise this element, the M. E. spellings with *-h-* in many names seem to prove that in many cases we have this word and not *ofer,* ' shore ' (q. v. below). I can give no examples of its occurrence from O. E. documents, but it certainly occurred in *Shotover* (Oxf.). Cp. *Shothouere,* Eynsham Ch., ii. p. 211.

Both *hofer* and *ōfer* are often levelled under *-ore, -or* in M. E. pl. ns., so that unless we have spellings with *h* the two are indistinguishable. Again if no spellings with intervocalic *ƒ* or *v* are preserved, a further confusion with O. E. *ōra,* ' border, edge, margin,' occurs. See this word below.

Hōh, O. E. ' heel, hill, promontory ' ; M. E. *hōuh, hōu, hōuȝ* etc., In M. E. the word had the meaning of ' hill,' as well as ' heel ' or ' hough.'

It is possible that confusion sometimes occurred between this word and the O. N. *haugr*, which according to Cleasby-Vigf. meant ' how, mound ' (often artificial mound of rubbish, etc.), also ' a cairn over one dead.' Stratmann-Bradley take M. E. *houȝ* ,' hill,' to be the O. N. word, but so far as its form goes it might well represent O. E. *hōh*. *Haugr* and *Hōh* have no etymological relation. B.-T. quotes from Narratiunculae Anglice conscriptae, 24, 9 (Cockayne, 1861) : ' we þa foron forþ be þæm sæ, and þær þa hean *hōs* and dene and garsecg þone æthiopia we ġesawon.' Kemble, referring to the use of O. E. *hōh* in relation to local designations, says (C. D., III. xxvi) : ' Originally a point of land, *formed like a heel*, or boot, and stretching into the plain, perhaps even into the sea.' See further Skeat's references to *hōh* in Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 35, and Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 29. In the latter county we find *Bletsoe* (*Bletesho*), *Cainhoe, Keysoe*, etc., etc., and in Herts. *Bengeo* (Beningho), *Queen Hoo*, etc. The O. N. and O. E. words had practically the same meaning, and in M. E. in many cases, the same sound, that is, the diphthongised forms of *hōh* were identical in sound and meaning with the Scand. word. The M. E. forms pronounced (hau) correspond not to the Mod. (hau), but to Mod. (hō). The Mod. forms *-oe, -hoe*, etc. represent M. E. shortened forms of *hō*(*h*). The forms in *how* are from oblique case *hōȝe*, etc., like *enow*, from *ȝenoȝe* ; those in *hough* (haf) are from Nom. *hōh*, like *enough* from *ȝenōh*.

Lancashire Names.—Blackho, Nels. ; Brown Howe, B.-in-F. ; Ellerhow, Grange ; Gummer's How Plantn., Stav. ; Green Hows, Stav. ? ; Lickow, Fleetw. ? ; Moor How (Allotm.), Hawks. ; Pattison How, Grange ; Tarn Hows, Hawks. ? (but cp. also under *hāls*) ; Sow How, Stav. ; White Hough ; ?Hough Clough, Chippendale ; Hough Green, Liv. ; Hough Mill, Preston ; Hough Wood, Wigan.

Holeġn, holen, O. E. ' holly.'

This element probably occurs in *Holenhyrst* (940), C. D., ii. p. 228 (*Holnhurst*, Glos. ?). In Mod. Engl. Pl. Ns. it usually appears as *Holling-*, e.g. *Hollingreave* (W. R. Yorks.), *Hollingworth* (Chesh.), *Hollingdon* (Bucks.) ; but also as *Hollin-*, in *Hollinsend* (? W. R. Yorks.). On the change of M. E. *-en-* to *-ing-*, cp. § 28 above.

Lancashire Names.—Hollin Bank, Hawks. ; Hollinfare,

Warr.; Hollingworth Lake, Littleb.; Hollinhead, Caton; Hollinwood, Ashton-u-L.; Hollins, Bolton; Hollinshead, Riv.; Hollyovenbeck House, Garstang.

(1) **Holh, holg,** O. E. 'a hollow, cavity, hole.' From the oblique cases of this word *-holge*, etc., M. E. *hol(e)we*, the Mod. *hollow* is derived.

(2) **Hol,** 'hollow, cavern, hole,' etc.

It appears to me doubtful whether these are really two separate words, in spite of B.-T. and Sweet's Dictionaries. The oblique cases of (1) are *hōle* from the *holh* type, and *holge*, etc. from *holg*. The examples of nom. and acc. *hol*, cited by B.-T., might easily be analogical forms from *hōle*, etc. Be this as it may, the words have the same meaning, and the uninflected *hol* and *holh* are levelled under one and the same form *hol*. Mod. Engl. *hole* is the normal development from M. E. *hōle*, O. E. *hŏle*, dat. of O. E. *hol*. On the other hand, if we assume that *holh* was the nom. the dat. would be *hōle* in O. E., and the M. E. *hōle*, the ancestor of Engl. *hole* must have owed its vowel to the analogy of the O. E. nom.

(3) **Hol,** adj. 'hollow.'

This is probably the commonest of the three forms in pl. ns., when it occurs as the first element. In O. E. we have *holan dic* (959), C. D., vi. p. 8; *Holebroces* (969), *Holbrook*, Glos., C. D., iii. p. 52; *Holancumb* (998), C. D., iii. p. 310. *Holborn* in Hunts. contains this word (Skeat, Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 320). In Mod. pl. ns. *hol* is sometimes diphthongised to *how-* with loss of *l*. This presupposes that there was no inflectional vowel between the *-l*, and the consonant of the second element. Thus Yorks. *Howthorpe* is *Holtorp* in D. B. and *Holthorp* in K.'s Inq., cp. p. 110; *Howgill* in the same county is *Holgil*, 'hollow valley,' in K.'s Inq., cp. p. 19.

In Continental pl. ns. we find *Hohlstein*, Silesia; *Höhlmuhle*, Würtemb.; *Hohlenfels*, Hesse-Nassau, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Brockholes, Preston; Fox Holes, Lancaster; Hole Beck, Con.; Holehouse, Wray; Holker,(?) Cartmel; How Croft (?); Tockholes, Blackburn.

Hōlmr, O. N. Cleasby-Vigf. says, 'a holm, islet, especially in a bay, creek, or river, even meadows on the shore, with ditches behind them are in Icel. called *holms*.' O. E. *holm*, which can hardly apply to pl. ns., meant 'wave, ocean,

water, sea,' so far as the evidence goes. In Old Saxon, as B.-T. notes, it means 'mound, hill, rising ground,' and Schade, p. 415, gives 'Berg, Hügel.' For M. E., Stratmann-Bradley refers to Laȝamon l. 20712, where the word means a 'hill,' and to the Promptorium, '*holm*, place besydone a water *hulmus*; of a sonde yn the see, bitalassum vel *hulmus*,' pp. 243, 244 (cit. also more fully in B.-T.).

The E. D. D. gives the following usages: (1) 'small island or islet, especially an island in a lake or river, an isolated rock' (Ork., Shet., Lakel., Cumb., Westm., N. and E. Yorks. N.-E. Lancs., N. Lincs., Northmb.); (2) 'low-lying level ground on the borders of a river or stream, used in the compound *holmland*.' In this sense it appears to be used in the same counties as above with the addition of Notts., Norf., and Kent (formerly Derbsh. also), and omitting Orkn. and Shetl.; (3) 'A depression, hollow, a narrow and deep glen' (Aberdeen and Northumb.); (4) 'A hill' (Nthumb. and Lincs.). 'Obs. except in pl. ns.'

Thus we see that the word may mean things as different as a hill and a hollow.

In cases where the second element in older forms varies between *-holm*, and *hom*, or *ham*, we may perhaps assume levelling of form and confusion of meaning with *-ham* (2) above.

Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. pp. 292-3, has some interesting remarks on the word. He gives some instances from O. E. Chs., showing that the word had got into English from O. N. pretty early, unless, indeed, it survived from primitive times in local designations, though not recorded as an independent word. J. cites— on *Hrōðlafes holm* and *Caeholm*, etc., from Birch Ch., 3, 454. He says that there are at least a hundred pl. ns. with this element, including forms *hulm(e)*, and *holme(s)* in England, between thirty and forty in Yorks., circa ten in Lincs., but only a few in Cumb., Nthumb., and Lancs. The following list shows that so far as Lancs. is concerned this is understated. The element also occurs in isolated instances in Beds., Notts., Derby, Hunts., Staffs., Glos., Chesh. In Schleswig close on a hundred names contain *holm* and many in Holstein. J. points out that in the O. Sax. *Hēliand*, the word is used in the sense of a mountain above Nazareth.

Lancashire Names.—Aynsome, Cartm.; Ballam, Lyth (cp. old forms, Pt. I.); Blake Holme Plantn., Stav.; Dunnerholme Ho., Dalt.; Greenholme Fm., B.-in-F.; Holm Nook, Poult.; Holme Roch.; Holme, Grange; Holme Fell, Con.; Holmes Fleetw., Tarl.; Holmes Wood, Ormsk.; Low Haume, Dalt.;

Hulme, Warr.? ; Hulme, Manch.? ; Hulme, Little Eccl.? ; Hunterholme, Burnley ; Larkholme, Fleetw. ; Levenshulme, Manchr. ; Lumholme, B.-in-F. ; Martholme, Cart. ; Quail Holme, Fleetw. ; Reeds Holme, Ross ; Ramsholme Wood, Rib. ; Rusholme, Manch. ; Sagar Holme, Ross ; Silver Holme, Stav. ; Thorney Holme, Burn. ; Torrisholme, Morec. ; Trailholme, Morec. ; White Holm, Rib. ; White Holme, Poulton ; Wraysholme, Lower, Cart.

Holt, O. E., ' wood, grove, copse.'

The O. L. G. dials. have the same word, and the O. H. G. form is *holz* with the same meaning. The word exists in practically all the Mod. Engl. dials., as it does in standard English. Besides the ordinary meaning, it is used in Notts. and Lincs. for an ' osier bed,' and in Northants, and Warwcs. in the sense of ' poor land covered with furze, or ling ; a field in a rough, weedy condition,' E. D. D.

In O. E. we find *Āc holt*, C. D., iv. 245 ; *Bōc holt*, C. D., iii. p. 377, in the boundaries of Ch. 72 ; to *hæselholte*, C. D., iv. p. 23.

Lancashire Names.—Haverholt, Nels. ; Holt, Liv. ; Holt Green, Liv. ; Holt Lane End, A.-u-L. ; Holton Mill ?, Chip.

Hop, O. E., ? ' hollow between hills, a valley,' also (?) a ' hill.'

This word only occurs as an independent word in O. E. in two compounds—*fenhopu* (Beow., 764), and *mōr hopu* (Beow., 450). The pl. neuter in *-u* enables us to say that the vowel of *hop* was short, otherwise the pl. would be **hōp*. It is difficult to understand why Duignan (Staffs. Pl. Ns. under *Hopwas*) should write the O. E. form *hōp*, since apart from the O. E. pl. *-hopu*, the word when independent in Mod. Engl, appears as *hop*, or as *hope* from M. E. *hōpes*, etc., and not as **hoop*. It is true that the Early Mod. Scotch *hoip* (Dalrymple Leslie's Hist. of Scotland, i. p. 163, ann. 1596) might seem to point to O. E. *ō*, but there is evidence that the M. E. lengthened *ō* in open syllables, also had this development. As regards the early meaning we have only indirect evidence. Fris. *hop* means ' creek of a lake,' Dijkstra, i. 537, and iii. p. 173. Stratmann-Bradley gives the M. E. meaning as ' valley.' The Mod. Engl. dial. uses are : (1) ' hollow among hills, valley through which a brook runs,' in Scotl., Nthumb., Durh., Yorks., Glos., and Somers. ; and (2) ' a hill ' in Scotl., Nthumb., Yorks., and Glos., cp. E. D. D. In the forms *hop* (from nom. or acc. sing.), and *hope* (from oblique cases) it occurs in numerous pl. ns. in the Nth. and Midlands, e.g.

Bramhope, W. R. Yorks. ; *Conhope*, Heref. ; *Edenope*, Shropsh. ; *Kershope* Foot, Cumb. ; *Ramshope*, Nthumb., etc., etc.

In L. G. Pl. Ns. we find *Ljemster Hop*, *Wikelder Hop*, Friesland ; and *Brummershop*, Schaumburg-Lippe ; *Utzenhop*, Schaumburg-Lippe.

Lancashire Names.—Bacup, Ross. ? ; Cowpe, Roch. ; Hope Carr Hall, Wigan ; Hopwood, Bury ? ; Meadup Ho., Morec. ; Mythop Lodge, Blackp'l ; Pickup Bank, Black. ? ; Widdop Cross, Nels.

Hord, O. E., ' treasure, hoard ' ; O. Sax. *hord* ; O. H. G. *hort*.

This word may be the first element in *hordwyllæ*, C. D., v. p. 112 (ann. 856), which would seem to mean ' treasure spring.'

The only Lancs. names in which the word may occur is *Hardhorn*, which may be O. E. *hordærn*, ' treasury ' (see early forms of the name above), and *Hoardsell* (Rib.). On the other hand I now think that the other solution suggested of the former is more probable. See discussion under *Hār*, *þorn*, and under the name itself.

Hors, Hros, O. E. ; O. Fris. *hars*, *hers*, *hors* ; O. Sax. *hros*, *hers* ; O. H. G. *hros*, *ros*.

It must always be doubtful whether pl. ns. which appear to contain this element do not rather contain the pers. n. *Horsa*. Even the O. E. evidence is not conclusive. *On Horsa lege* occurs in Alderman Ælfred's Will (871). Cp. Thorpe's Diplomatar., p. 480, and Sweet's O. E. T., p. 451. Is the first element here the gen. pl. of the name of the animal, or is it a defective or uninflected form of the pers. n., which one would expect to appear here as *Horsan* ?

Skeat records *Horseheth*, 1339, Ely Registers, Mod. *Horseheath*, but while he says the derivation is obvious, he expresses no opinion as to whether this is *Hors-* or *Horsan-*.

Lancashire Names.—Rossall, Fleetw. ; Rosthwaite, B.-in-F.

Hræfn, hrefn, hremn, O. E., ' raven ' ; E. Fris. *rafe* ; O. Sax. *hrafn*, *hramn* ; O. H. G. *hraban*.

The M. E. forms are *rāven*, *rēven*, *rem*, etc. (cp. Stratmann-Bradley). There are two difficulties in connection with this element. The first is to be sure whether in any given pl. n. it refers to the bird, or whether it is a pers. n. The second is to distinguish it from the element *Ramm*, ' ram,' in those pl. ns. whose Mod. forms begin with *ram-*. That O. E. *Hræfn* was used as a pers. n. there is no doubt, and O. N. *hrafn* was used in the same way. For discussion of this pers. n., see under *Ravens-*

meols in Pt. I. and Björkman, Nord. Persn. in England, p. 109. It is in most cases a matter of pure conjecture whether in any given name *Raven-* or *Ram-* (which can be shown to go back to this word), is the name of the bird or of a man.

As regards the second point, only the testimony of the earlier forms can decide whether in a pl. n. beginning with *Ram-* this is original O. E. *hræfn*, or *ramm*.

In O. E. we have *Hrǣfnes hyll*, C. D., i. p. 264 (ann. 816, Worcs.). On *hremhryċg*, Birch, i. p. 305 (ann. 774)?; to *hremmes-cumbes ġeate*, Birch, i. p. 148 (ann. 701); *to hremnes byrig* (ann. 980), Crawf. Ch., vii. 13, p. 19, is *Ramsbury* in Wilts.; *to Hremmesdene* (ann. 900), Thorpe's Dipl., p. 146, may be *Ramsdean* in Hants., cp. Thorpe's Index. Skeat notes (Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 53) that *Ramsey* in Hunts. appears as *Hramesēġe* in Thorpe, p. 598, l. 10, where the *h* shows at any rate that the prefix is not O. E. *ramm*. We have further *Ravensbury* in Herts., for which Skeat gives no early forms, and *Ravensden* in Beds. which has early forms, *Ravenes-*, etc. (Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 10).

I leave undecided here the question whether in some or all of the examples given, the first element is a pers. n. or not, wishing merely to illustrate the occurrence of the element in Early and Mod. forms whatever its meaning may be.

See further discussion under *Ramm-* below.

Lancashire Names.—Raven Scar Farm, Caton; Raven Winder, Cartm.; Raven's Holme, Burnl.; Ravensclough, Nelson. [The following names in *Ram-* are very likely from this word—Ramsbottom, Rochd.; Ramsgreave, Blackb.; Ramsholme Wood, Rib.]

Hramsa, O. E., 'broad-leaved garlic,' allium ursinum. Occurs once in O. E. sources, Lchdms., iii. p. 333, col. 2, cit. B.-T.

In the Mod. dials. this word is found in the forms *ramsons*, *rams*, *roms*, *ramps*. The latter form (Scotl., Cumb., Nthumb., Lancs.) has the same meaning as the O. E. word, the other forms are applied variously to the cuckoo-pint, the rest-harrow, and the leaves of the purple crocus, E. D. D.

I rather doubt the occurrence of this element in pl. ns., but it is a possibility in names beginning with *Ramp-*. See discussion under *Rampside* in Pt. I. Other names are *Rampsholme* (Cumb. and N. R. Yorks.), *Rampsgill* (Westm.), but it seems very improbable that these contain the word. The first element is more probably O. N. *hrafn*, used as a pers. n.?

Lancashire Name.—Ramp Greaves, Cartm.

Hrēōd, O. E., 'reed'; O. Sax. *ried*; O. H. G. *hriot, riot, riet*; Mod. Fris. *reid*.

In the Sthn. and S.-W. Mod. dialects the word is applied to straw used for thatching, and E. Angl. and Suff. to a 'wood, or woody strip of land,' E. D. D.

Hrēōdburnan occurs Crawf. Ch., viii. l. 14, p. 20 (ann. 990), and is the Mod. *Rodbourn*, Warwcs. (cp. Index and note on p. 113); *on hreodbroce* occurs in l. 39 of same ch., p. 21; *Hrēōdburne* is found also, C. D., iv. p. 296 (eleventh century), which Kemble identifies with *Radbourn* in Hants.; *Hrēōdham* (ann. 778), C. D., iii. p. 38; and *on hrēōdmēde*, C. D., vi. p. 102 (ann. 970).

Lancashire Names.—Reed Barn, Chip.; Reed Row, Nels.; Reedy Snape, Rib.; Reedyford House, Nels.

Hrīder, hrȳder, O. E., 'horned cattle, ox, cow, heifer'; O. Fris. *hrither*; Mod. Fris. *rier*; O. H. G. *hrind*; O. Sax. *runth*.

It is necessary to say a few words on the O. E. forms. From the evidence of O. Fris. and O. H. G. there must have been a form **hrinþer* from which O. E. *hrīðer*. The O. Sax. form points to a form **hrunþir*, whence O. E. *hryðer* may be derived. This question of two original types is so far important that it is desirable to know whether we are to consider O. E. *hrȳðer* as a rounded form (*i* after *r*) of *hrīðer*, or as an independent form with original rounded vowel. One would expect *hrīðer* to remain in all dialects in the O. and M. E. periods, and to appear as *rither* (with shortened vowel from *hriðres*, etc.) in Mod. Engl. The other form would appear as *ruðer* (u=y) in the Sthn. dialects, whereas in Midl. and Nth. it would be levelled under *riðer*. Mod. Dial. (*roðer*), 'horned beast' (N. Cntry., Lancs., Warw., Worcs., Heref., Suss.), E. D. D., is difficult to explain in the Nthn. parts where *rīðer* must be the starting-point. In the South the Mod. vowel is easier to understand as a dialectal alteration of (y) through (u). Midl. and Nthn. *rīðer* must also have undergone an unfronting process (after *r* ?).

Hrīðra leah (Kt.) appears in Birch Ch., i. p. 450, ann. 805.

Without seeing the early forms it is rash to assert that any of the Mod. Engl. pl. ns. in *Ruther-* or *Rother-* are from this element, some may contain the O. E. pers. n. *Hrōðhere*.

Lancashire Name.—Ritherham, Fleetw.

Hröysi, O. N., 'cairn, mound'; Swed. *Röse* (Björkman, Lehnworte, p. 67); Mod. Norw. dial. (*röys*), 'heap of stones,' Aarsen, p. 629.

The word survives in the Mod. Engl. Dialects of Cumb., Westm., and N.-E. Lancs. in the form *raise* (rēz), E. D. D.

It appears to exist in such pl. ns. as *Dunmail Raise*, Westm.; *Greenfell Raise*, *Raise-Beck*, *God Raise*, all in Cumb. The word seems also to occur in the form *rose-* in Mod. pl. ns. Cp. perhaps *Buckrose*, E. R. Yorks., and *Raisthwaite*, *Toppinrays*, and *Roseacre* in Lancs. See in Pt. I. above the early forms of this last.

Hryċġ, O. E., 'back of a man or animal, ridge, high line of continuous hills, elevated surface'; O. Fris. *hreg*, *reg*; O. H. G. *hrucci*, *hrucki*, etc. In Germ. the word does not occur in pl. ns. but it is used to designate a ridge of hills in *bergrücken*. Cp. Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 313, O. N. *hryggr*, 'back,' also 'mountain ridge.'

In O. E. we get *on doddan hryċġ*, and of *doddanhryċġe*, Crawf. Ch., i. l. 15, p. 1 (ann. 739), which is *Doddridge* (Devon), cp, N. and S.'s note, p. 49. On *Hengestesrige* (Henstridge, Somers.). C. D., iii. 412, and Thorpe Dipl., p. 186 (ann 738); *Heafochrycg* (ann. 956, Hawridge, Bucks.), C. D., v. p. 389; *Hryċġleah* (860 Dors.), C. D., iii. p. 395. *Ridge* in Mod. Engl. dials. means (1) 'strip of land thrown up by the plough, or left below furrow' (N. Yorks., Worcs., Shrops., Heref., Glos., Herts., Kent, Hunts.); (2) 'deep waggon rut' (Northants.).

In the Mod. dials. *rig* has the following usages:—(1) 'ridge, especially a long, narrow hill, a raised road' (Scotl., Nthumb., Durh., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Derbysh., Notts.); (2) 'space below two furrows in a ploughed field, measure of land, first furrow turned in ploughing' (Nth. Yorks., Notts., E. Angl.).

The element is so common and widespread in pl. ns. that it is unnecessary to illustrate it further than by above examples, and the list of Lancs. ns. which follows. It is probable that we should regard *-rigg* as the Norse, and *ridge* the English form of the word—e.g. *Hazelrigg* (Nthumb.), *Whitrigg* (Cumb.).

Lancashire Names.—(1) O. E. *Hryċġ*: Cockridge, Nels.; Idridge Scar., Ald.; Elmridge, Ribch.; Longridge, Wigan; Foulridge, Nels.; Over Ridge, Cart.; Ridgeling, Burn.; Ridge Fm., Burn. (2) O. N. *Hryggr*, 'mountain ridge': Bailrigg, Lanc.; Birkrigg Common, Dalt.; Border Riggs, B.-in-F.; Brandrigg, Lanc.; Eccle Riggs, B.-in-F.; Eskrigge, Carn.; Green-Riggs, Con.; Fairrigg, Stav.; Hasel Rigg, Stav.; Haverigg Holme, Con.; Mansriggs, Ulv.; Moss Rigg Wood, Con.; Rigg, Garst.; Rigg Well, B.-in-F.; Tarn Riggs, B.-in-F.; Whitriggs, Dalt.

Hvāll, O. N. Cleasby-Vigf. says under this word :—'a hill, not much used, *hōll* being the common word; but it is still used of a dome-shaped hill, and in local names of farms lying under such hills, as *Hvāll* in *Saurbær* in the west, *Berg-þorshvāll* and *Storōlfs-hvāll* in the east.'

There are several names ending in *hvāll* in Sturlunga Saga, also in *hōlar*, and there is *Hōlavað*, which shows the word as a first element. Mod. N. names have *-hol*, apparently only in the second element.

Hwæs, O. E., 'sharp, keen,' a rare word in O. E. applied to thorns—'Hi *hwæsne* beag ymb min heafod heardne gebygdon,' Crist., 1444, cit. B.-T. A noun closely allied to this word exists in Gothic *hvassei*, 'Heftigkeit, Strenge,' also the adj. itself—*hvass* is found in O. N. with precisely the same meaning as in O. E. Otherwise the commoner cognate is O. E. *hwæt*, 'quick, vigorous,' etc.. O. Sax. *hwat*; O. H. G. *hwaz*, 'sharp'; O. N. *hvatr*, 'bold, active.' *Hwæs* must go back to a Gmc. type with *-ss-* from Idg. *-ss-* from *-tt-* from *-dt-*.

Mod. Engl. dials. (N. E. Lancs. and Lakel.) have *wass*, 'acid, sour,' which is probably from the Norse. Since the word is far commoner in O. N. than in O. E., it is probably a loan-word whenever it occurs in English pl. ns. Whereas there are several pl. ns. in Continental Low. Gmc. countries, in *Wat-* (e.g. *Watberg*, 'scharferberg,' Jellinghaus, Westfäl. Ortsn., p. 187), those in *was-*=O. E. *hwæs* are more doubtful. In English pl. ns. Westm. *Whasset* appears to contain this element, and perhaps also *Wassend* (E. R. Yorks.), but I am doubtful of others.

Hwǣte, O. E., 'wheat'; E. Fris. *weite*, *wēte*; W. Fris. *weet*; O. Sax. *hwēti*; O. H. G. *hwaizi*, *hweizi*, etc.; O. N. *hveiti*; Goth. *hvaiteis*. (O. E. adj. *hwǣten*).

A very common prefix to pl. ns., C. D. *Hwæteleage*, iii. p. 379 (770); on *hwætedune*, C. D., iii. p. 378; on *hwētedune*, Surrey Ch., 871-89, O. E., p. 452, l. 24.

Among Mod. Engl. names *Wheatacre*, All Saints, Norf.; *Wheatenhurst*, Glos.; *Wheaton Aston*, Staffs. (cp. Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns., p. 170); *Wheathampstead*, Herts. (cp. Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 45, etc., etc.).

Among Continental names we have *Weitzkamp*, Rhn. Prov.; *Weitzdorf*, E. Pruss.; *Weitzgrund*, Brandenb.

Lancashire Names.—Wheat Hill, Liv.; Wheathead, Burnl.; Wheatley, Rib.; Wheatland Hill, Garst.

Hwīt, Hwīta, O. E., adj. 'white, shining'; *hwīt* in all L. G. dials.; O. H. G. *hwīz*; O. N. *hvītr.*

Not as commonly found as might have been expected, as an element in O. E. pl. ns.—*hwītan floda*, C. D., v. p. 83 (826); *Hwītancyrican*, C. D., ii. p. 115 (880-5, Whitchurch, Dors. ?); *Hwitfeld*, C. D., iv. p. 164 (1065); *Hwitanwyllesġeat* (*Whitwell*, Derbysh.), A.-S. Chron., Parker MS., 942, Plummer's Ed., i. p. 110.; æt *Hwitciricean*, Parker Chron., ann. 1001, Plummer, i. p. 132 (*Whitchurch*, Hants., cp. Plummer's Index, vol. ii. p. 398).

There is a *Whitwell* in Herts. which contains this element (Skeat, Herts. Pl. Ns., p. 53). *Whittington* in Staffs. is O. E. *Hwitantone*, according to Duignan, who, of course gives no reference beyond the date 925. One is puzzled to know what *-tone* as a suffix is doing at such a date!

Lancashire Names.—Whitaker Burn, Burnl.; Whitfield Hall, Rochd.; Whitmore Farm, Garst; Whitworth, Rochd.; Whittingham, Ribch.; Whittle Brook, Bury; Whiteside, Fleetw.; Whitehalghfield, Clith.; White Carr, Garst.; White Lee, Garst.

Hyll, O. E., 'hill'; M. Dutch *hille*, *hil*, *hul*.

The E. D. D. notes, besides the meanings which the word has in good English, that in East Anglia *hill* means 'a piece of high ground entirely surrounded by water, a dry patch of elevated marsh,' and further in Somers. 'a common, hence hill ground, unenclosed, rough, uncultivated land.' In fact any ground slightly more elevated than the surrounding country may be called a 'hill,' the point to remember is that a 'hill' need not be high to earn this name. In the above definitions, it is the greater or less degree of *elevation* in comparison with the surroundings that wins the appellation, and not the presence of marsh, or the fact that the ground is uncultivated. A 'hill' does not cease to be a 'hill' because of these conditions.

As there are many 'hills' all over England, the word naturally appears broadcast throughout the country. It often loses its distinctive form through lack of stress, and becomes merely (l), written *-le*, indeed it is often pronounced so, although written *hill*. Cp. *Windhill* (Yorks.), which is pronounced (windl), and the Lancs. pl. ns. ending in *-le* in the following list. See the early forms of *Bootle*, *Whittle*, etc. in Pt. I. above. It is unnecessary to give more than one or two O. E. examples. *Achylle*, C. D., iii. p. 385 (779); *Beornhyll*, C. D., iii. p. 454 (959).

Lancashire Names.—(1) Adam Hill, Wigan; Batley Hill, Lanc.; Chathill Fm., Garst.; Cowhill Fold, Blackb.; Eccles-

hill, Blackb.; Hillam, Lanc.; Hillhouse, Liv.; Hillock Vale; Hulton, Eccl. (2) Shortened forms: Brindle, Blackb'n.; Carl Cross, Ulv.?; Cobble Hey, Garst.; Coppull, Chorley; Crookells, Mawds.; Dimple, Dar.; Freckleton, Kirkm.; Hindle Fold, Clith.?; Knowl Fold, Darw.; Lickle River, B.-in-F.; Machell Coppice, Hawks.; Madgell Bank, Rib.; Maghull, Liv.; Orrell, Liv.; Pendle, Burnl.; Pendlebury, Eccl.; Pendleton, Clith.; Rindle Road, Eccl.; Ronklehurst Wood, Nels.; Seatle, Cart.; Wardle, Littleb.; Windle, St. Hel.; Windles Green, Liv.; Whittle Brook, Bury; Withnell, Blackb'n.; Wuerdle, Roch.

Hyrst, O. E., 'hurst, copse, wood.'

Middendorff, p. 80, suggests that the word may have applied to wood-pasture for swine. Cp. *bearu* above. O. H. G. *hurst*, 'Busch, Gebüsch, Gestrauch' (Schade, i. p. 434); M. L. G. *horst*, *hurst*, *host*, 'Artland,' *Höst*, *Hörst*, unregelmässig gebrochenes Gestrüpp (Jellinghaus, Westfäl. Orstn., p. 54). In Pomerania *horst* means 'ein erhöheter Ort im Walde' (Dähnert, cit. E. D. D.). In the L. G. of Göttingen the word means 'eine bewachsene kleine Erhöhung' (Schaumbach, cit. E. D. D.), and in E. Friesland, according to Koolman *hoost*, *host*, 'eine sandige Anhöhe.'

The Mod. Engl. dialects have nearly lost the word except in pl. ns., but it had, besides the ordinary meaning of 'wood,' and 'wooded eminence,' such meanings as—'little hill or ridge, barren height, bare, hard summit of a hill in Scotl., W. Yorks., N.-E. Lancs., and Dors. Further, in Scotl. and in Shropsh. 'a sand bank on the brink of a river, a shallow, a shelf in a river bed,' E. D. D. The meanings are certainly varied enough.

In O. E. we find *Eppelhyrste*, C. D., v. p. 48 (749); *æsċhyrste*, C. D., iii. p. 394 (848); *holenhyrst*, C. D., ii. p. 228 (940); *Lamhyrstæ*, C. D., iii. p. 176 (980), etc., etc. It is unnecessary to give Mod. examples beyond those mentioned for Lancs. It only remains to be said that O. E. *hyrst* became M. E. *hurst* in the Saxon dials., and *hirst* in Nth. and Midl. In unstressed syllables the word often becomes (əst). Cp. *Wadhurst*, *Midhurst* in Sussex, pronounced locally (wodəst, midəst).

The element *hyrst* also occurs in the curious-looking name *Haycrust* (Salop), which is really a metathesised form of 'Hawkhurst.' Cp. the early form *Hauekehurst*, Inq. of Hen. III., No. 473, p. 134.

Lancashire Names.—Ackhurst Hall, Wigan; Alder Hurst, Nels.; Ashurst's Hall, Wigan; Bankhurst, Clith.; Bellhurst, Wray; Blindhurst, Garst. and Riv.; Broadhurst, Wigan;

Brocklehurst, Clith.; Bromyhurst, Eccl.; Collyhurst, Manch.; Copthurst, Burn.; Croginhurst, B.-in-F.; Dewshurst, Clith.; Fairhurst, Bilsb.; Gathurst, Wigan; Green Hurst, Cart.; Haselhurst, Auh.; Hey Hurst, Ribch.; Hurst, Auh.; Hurst Green, Clith.; Hurstwood, Burn.; Lickhurst, Chip.; Micklehurst, Mossley; Nuthurst, Lanc.; Ronklehurst Wd., Nels.; Stadlehurst, Rib.; Sunnyhurst, Blackb.

I

Ing, Inge, 'meadow, low-lying land near a stream, water-meadow,' etc., E. D. D.

This word is not found as an independent word in O. E., nor in M. E., though here *eng* the Scand. cognate is found once (Cathol., p. 115. Cp. Stratmann-Bradley). It must have been in common use, however, in the two forms *ing* from **inga-*, and **inċġ* from **ingja*, Idg. **enkó* and **enkió-* respectively. Cp. Lat. *ancrae*, '*convallis*, *vallis*,' Walde, p. 29; and Gk. *ἄγκος*, 'Thal,' Prellwitz, p. 4. O. H. G. *angar*, 'grasland, grasplatz, ackerland' (Schade, p. 19), and E. Fris. *inge*, 'Anger, grüne Wiese, (Koolman, ii. p. 128), are obviously cognates, though the former has a different ablaut-grade.

Many of the Mod. Engl. dials. use *ing* as an independent word. According to E. D. D. it is so used in Northmb., Durh., Cumb., Westmorl., Yorks., Lancs., Northants., N. Lincs., E. Anglia, Kent, Surrey, Sussex. Both forms occur in pl. ns.—e.g. *Lockynge* (lokindž) and *Wantage* (earlier *Wanetinge*) in Berks., probably *Goring*, and certainly *Filkins* in Oxfordsh. Cp. Alexander, Oxf. Pl. Ns. Note also *Applegarthenge* in Cal. Rotl. Pat., p. 93, l. 12, ann. 1323. I note that Professor Skeat (Herts. Pl. Ns., pp. 37, 38) warns us against confusing *-ing* the patronymic with this word. Professor Skeat apparently takes all the Herts. names in *-ing*, *-in*, *Tewin*, *Tring*, etc. to be patronymics. It appears to me, however, an open question whether the latter name, and *Throcking* may not contain the noun *ing*. Certainly there can be no doubt about those Mod. names, which are pronounced (indž) as *Billinge* in Lancs. This suffix (iŋ) may also be responsible for the change of the suffix *-en-* in M. E. to *-ing-*, as in *Pilkington* for **Pyllecantūn*, and *Abbingdon* for *Abbandun*. Cp. the early forms of *Pilkington*, *Hollingworth*, *Withington* above.

As regards O. E. pl. ns. with this element, it may occur in *Ingepenne* (Berks.), 931, C. D., ii. p. 175; *Clæfring*, eleventh century, C. D., vi. p. 212. *Ingham*, C. D., iv. 285 (1049-52), perhaps contains the pers. n. *Ing*. See now Professor Moor-

man's elaborate article on *-ing* in his pl. ns. of the W. Riding of Yorkshire, and remarks in § 28, pp. 35 and 36 above. It appears to me certain that *ing* and *inge* are genuine English words, that neither of them is borrowed from O. N., and that both forms are fairly frequent in Eng. pl. ns.

Lancashire Names.—Billinge; Greenings, Ormsk.; Ing Ends, Burnley; Ingham, Burnley; Ingheys, Nels. Ings Point (Silverdale) may be really a gen. of the O. E. pers. n. *Ing*.

K

Kaupmadr, -mannr, 'merchant,' O. N. This is the Scand. cognate of O. E. *ċēāpmonn*, q. v. under *ċēping* above.

The word seems to have been used, in England at any rate, as a pers. n. (see Björkman, Nord. Persn. in Engl.), and also under *Capernwray* in Pt. I. above.

The Mod. Norw. pl. ns. *Kommesrud*, *Komnes* are said to have contained this word.

Kelda, 'well, spring, stream from a well,' O. N.; O. Swed. *kælda*, 'spring' (Björkman, Lehnw., i. p. 141); Mod. Sw. *källa*; O. Dan. *kelde*; Norw. *kjelda*, 'well, spring.'

In the Mod. Engl. dials. *keld* means:—(1) 'spring of water, fountain'; (2) 'marshy place' (Nthumb., Lakel., Yorks., Lancs.); (3) 'the still part of a lake or river, which has an oily smoothness' (Cumb., Nthumb.), E. D. D.

O. Norse names containing this element are—*Glæsiskelda*, (Eyrbryggja Saga); *Māskelda*, Sturl. Saga.

Mod. Engl. and Scotch Pl. Names.—*Dunkeld*, *Salkeld*, Sc.; *Kelbrook*, W. R. Yorks.; *Keld*, *Kelleth*, Westm.

[See remarks under *Childwall* Pt. I. on a conjectural O. E. cognate **ċild*, **ċeld*, 'sudden burst of water.']

Lancashire Names in *Keld*.—Kelbrick, Keldray, Kellet, Trinkeld.

Kjarr, O. N., 'copsewood, brushwood'; Norw. *kjerr*, 'swamp marsh.' In M. E. *ker* is used for 'marshy ground' (Stratm.-Bradley).

The Mod. Engl. dials. use *car* in the following senses:—(1) 'pool, hollow place where water sometimes stands, low-lying ground apt to be flooded' (Nthumb., Durh., Yorks., Lancs., Chesh., Lincs., Norf.); (2) 'a wood of alder or other trees in a moist, boggy place, boggy grassland' (Lakel., N. Lancs., N. Yorks.), E. D. D.

O. N. Pl. Names.—*Kjarradalr*, Icel., Sturl. Saga; *Kjarrá*, Landn. Bōk.

M. Norw. Pl. Names.—*Aasekjær*, *Hamlekjær*.

Lancashire Names containing *Kjarr*.—Altcar, Liv.; ? Bescar, Liv.; Bethecar, Stav.; Carr Cross, S'port.; Carr End, Fleetw.; Carr Hull, Clith.; Carr Wood (Wild), Carn.; ? Carleton, Poulton; Sower Carr, Fleetw.; Cobcar Nook, Burn.; Cumming Carr, Garst.; Hala Carr, Lanc.; ? Holker, Cart.; Hoscar Moss Wd., Ormsk.; Jarvis Carr, Garst.; Kearsley, Bolt.?; Kersa Dale, Manch.?; Loud Carr, Chip.; Oldfield Carr, Poulton; Pea Carr Fm., Wyresd.; White Carr, Garst. and Clith.

Konungr, O. N., 'king.'

This is the equivalent of O. E. *cyning*, and pl. ns. which contain it can generally be distinguished from those containing the Engl. word, by the Mod. forms in *Con-*, etc. The word is a common element in Scand. pl. ns. Thus *Konungsgarðr* occurs in Sturl. Saga, and among Mod. Norw. forms are *Kongerud*, *Kongsbakke*, *Kongshaug*, *Kongstein*, etc.

Mod. Engl. Pl. Names.—*Conisbrough*, W. R. Yorks.; *Conisholm*, and the following

Lancashire Names containing *Konungr*.—Conishead, Coniston, Cunscough.

Kross, 'cross,' O. N. Originally Celtic loan-word. O. Irish *cros* (Skeat, Conc. Etym. Dict.). This element is common throughout the country in pl. ns.

In Scand. pl. ns. it is also frequent. In the Sturl. Saga there are—*Krossa-dalr*, *Krossa-nes* (cp. Lancs. *Crossens*), *Kross-holar*, etc. Among Mod. Norw. names there are *Korseberg*, *Kattekross*, *Krosby* (cp. Lancs. *Crosby*?), *Krosnes* (cp. *Krossa-nes* above, and Lancs. *Crossens* in Pt. I. above).

Lancashire Names containing *Kross*.—Annel Cross, Pendle; Anty Cross, D.-in-F.; Barton Cross, Bilsb.; Carr Cross, Sthport.; Crosby, L'pool.; Crossens, L'pool.; Crossgill, Crossmoor, Garst.; Crossnapend, Chip.; Cuerdley Cross, Warr.; Hob Cross, L'pool.

L

Lacu, 'pond, piece of water, lake,' also 'running water, stream.'

This word, which is closely related to O. E. **lǣċe* below, no doubt exists in many Engl. pl. ns. Cp. Skeat's note on *Fenlake*, Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 36.

The Mod. dial. uses of *lake* are these:—(1) 'a small puddle or pool; a pond formed by damming up a stream' (Roxb., Midl., Hants., Wilts.); (2) 'a brook, rivulet, or stream' (E. Cumb.,

Hants., Wilts., Dors., Somers.) ; (3) ' a dried-up water-course on the moors ' (Somers.).

Note that Earle, Land Charter, 465, gives ' stream of running water,' as a meaning of O. E. *lacu*. Napier and Stevenson have also a note to the effect that the word means ' stream ' not ' lake ' in Crawf. Ch., ii. l. 12, p. 3, and quote two passages from Birch's Ch., iii. 624, l. 19, and ii. 541, l. 26, where the word is used in this sense. Cp. also ' oð ðæt sēo lacu ūt sċytt on Bliðan,' Sweet's A.-S. Reader, p. 58. 75, which is the latter passage from Birch.

In Mod. pl. ns. the meaning of *-lake* (stream, or pond) can only be determined by topographical considerations.

***Læċe**, ' stream,' perhaps also boggy ground near a stream ? Cp. various meanings of Mod. *brook* under O. E. *brōc* above. This word does not occur independently in O. E., though it is found in O. E. charters in compounds — *Læċemere*, *Læċesford*, cit Middendorff, p. 85. The O. E. verb *leċċan*, ' moisten, lave,' is closely related to **læċe*. This is used in the sense of stream watering and refreshing the land through which it flows :—

> —' ac þær lagu-streamas
> wundrum wrætlice wyllan on springað
> fægrum flod-wylmum foldan *leċċaþ*
> wæter wynsumu of þæs wuda midle.'
>
> Phœnix, l. 61, etc.

leċċan is from **lak-jan*, **læċe* from Gmc. **lækki*——Abl. *a*—*æ*, as in **sat*, O. E. *sæt* ; **sæt-um*, O. E. *sæton*, etc.

O. E. *lacu*, ' pond, piece of water,' contains the same base. See above.

An O. N. cognate *lækr*, ' brook, rivulet,' is found (see preceding element).

The form *latch* (latʃ, leitʃ, letʃ) occurs in the Mod. Engl. dialects :—(1) ' a pond, pool ' (Lancs., Chesh., mid-Dev.) ; (2) ' a swamp, quagmire, dub, wet moss ' (Scotl., Nthumb.,Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., Chesh.) ; (3) ' spring in a field forming a swamp ' (Chesh.) ; (4) ' an occasional water-course, narrow ditch, deep, cut-out gutter washed by the tide on the sea-shore ' (W. Scotl., Durh., Cumb., Yorks., N.-E. Lancs.), E. D. D.

This word is said by Duignan, Staffs. Pl. Ns., pp. 93-95, to be the first element in *Litchfield*. Be this as it may, Duignan is perfectly right in connecting the existence of the word and in recognising it in such names as *Lechmere*, *Letchlade*, etc. Skeat (Herts. Pl. Ns., pp. 56 and 70) discovers a different element in

Letchworth and *Letchford*, though I am not sure that our word is not more probable in both names than the pers. n. *Lǣċe*, 'leech,' at any rate it seems to me more probable in the latter name.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Blackleach, Garst.; Blackleach Keb, Clith.; Cockleach, Nels.; Cockleach, Ribch.

Lāgr, 'low,' O. N. This is the ancestor of the Mod. Engl. word which is thus a foreign loan-word.

In pl. ns. the word is usually a fairly modern addition as is obvious from the Lancs. names in which it occurs. Other names whose Mod. forms appear to contain the element in composition may have a very different origin as is the case of *Lowick* (q. v. in Pt. I. above).

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Low Hall, Ulv.; Low Park, Hawks.; Low Wood, Stav.; Lower Fairhurst, Bilsb.; Lowerford, Nels.; Lowgill, ? Roeb.

Land, O. E., 'land,' etc.

This word is so common, and so generally understood, that it is unnecessary to spend much time on it. The Mod. dial. uses which are in some cases more specific than is the ordinary use of the word are worth noting :—(1) 'an estate of land' (Cumb.); (2) 'pasture-land, stinted common pasture, a piece of land in a common field, untilled land' (Banff, N. Irel., E. Yorks., Chesh.); (3) 'arable as distinguished from pasture-land' (Caithn., E. Anglia); (4) 'low-lying ground' (Heref., Sussex); (5) 'unploughed earth' (Nthumb.); (6) 'the space between two furrows in a ploughed field, a strip of land in an unenclosed field' (Scotl., E. Yorks., Chesh., Derby, Notts., etc., not Lancs.), E. D. D.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Bowland, Little Chip.; Brooklands, Bilsb.; Cawthwaite Lands, B.-in-F.; Crosslands, Stav.; Downholland, Ormsk.; Holland Moor, Ormsk.; Ireland Moss, Stav. ?; Land Side, Wigan; Leyland, Preston; Litherland, Liv.; Longlands, Cartm.; Markland Hill, Bolt.; Marland, Bury; Marsland Green, Eccl.; Newland Beck, Ulv.; Nooklands, Preston; Oaklands, Nels.; Rusland, Stav.; Ryelands, Morec; Spotland, Roch.; Standerlands, Morec.; Sunderland, Morec.; Thurland Castle, Tunst.; Thursland Hill, Lanc.; Williamlands, Morec.; Woodland, B.-in-F.; Woodlands, Ribch.; Yealand Conyers, Carn.

Lane, lone, 'lane,' O. E., 'narrow and bounded path, a street in a town'; O. Fris. *lona*, *lana*; Mod. Dutch *laan*.

B.-T. cites from Kemble :—'Hit cymeþ on ægles *lonan*; ondlang ðære *lonan* ðæt hit cymþ eft in ða burnan,' C. D., iii. 33, 7.

By the side of *lane*, the Mod. Engl. dialects have also *loan* and *loaning*, from the O. E. *lon-* form, which means not only 'lane' but 'an open cultivated piece of ground near a farmhouse, or village in which the cows are milked' (Scotl., Nthumb.), E. D. D.

I am told that *Plodder Lane*, Bolton, is pronounced (plodə loun), and *Danesgate Lane* (Formby, =(daŋgətluən).

Lancashire Names.—Barnslane, Ribch.; Bent Lanes, Eccl.; Black Lane, Bolton; Black Gate Lane, Tarl.; Green Lane Farm, Bilsb.; Wicken's Lane End, Garst.

Lang, long, 'long, tall,' O. E. This word exists in practically the same form in all the Gmc. languages.

It is found in many O. E. pl. ns :—*Longedune*, C. D., iii. p. 375 (706); *Langanleah*, C. D., ii. p. 261 (814); *Langtoft*, C. D., ii. p. 236 (806, *toft*='messuage homestead, etc., perhaps Scand.); *Longaforde*, C. D., ii. p. 267 (944-6), etc., etc.

Note that in Mod. forms *long* is derived from O. E. *lānga-*, M. E. *lōnge-*, while *lang-* represents O. E. uninflected *lāng-*, with M. E. shortening when the next element begins with a consonant. The same interchange of *ā*, (*ō*) *-ă* occurs in *brāda*<*brōde*—*brād*+cons.<M. E. *brăd*. See this word above, and the names in *Brad-*, *Broad-* in Pt. I. above, also those in *Long-*, *lang-*.

Lancashire Names.—(1) *a* forms: ? Lanaing, Stav.; Langho., Clith.; Langroyd Hall, Nels.; Langthwaite, Lanc.; Langtree, Wigan. (2) *o* forms: Long Crag, Hawks.; Longfield Woodre, B.-in-F.; Longford Hall ,Manch.; Longlands, Cart.; Longmire, Stav.; Longsight, Manch.; Longton, Preston; Longworth Hall, Dar.; Longworthy, Dar.

Laund, Mod. Engl. Dial. adj., 'quiet, calm, still, serene, sheltered' 'grove.'

The origin of this form is obscure to me. The O. N. *lundr*, 'grove,' could not possibly become *laund* (lōnd), and has but small connection in meaning, unless we take *lundr* to mean a 'sheltered place.' The meaning one might explain by relating the word to O. E. *linnan*, *lann- lunn-*, 'cease, leave off, desist,' etc., and thence perhaps to 'spare, mitigate,' etc., but the development of the Mod. form is inexplicable to me at any rate.

The Norse word is often used in pl. ns. See list given by Cleasby-Vigf., p. 399. It is there stated that *Gilsland* (Cumb.) contains this element.

Lancashire Names.—Laund Block, Nels.; New Laund Burn, Chip.; Old Hall Laund, Chip.; Laund House, Lancast.

N.B.—Dr. Hirst tells me that this element is always pronounced (laund) near Lancaster, etc.

Lēah, lǣh, 'lea, meadow, open space, untilled land'; O. Sax. *lōh*, 'wald'; O. H. G. *lōh, laoh*, 'niedriges Gehölz, Gebüsch, mit Gebüsch bewachsene Lichtung,' Schade.

This Gmc. group of words finds its cognate in the Latin *lūcus*, 'grove,' and Lith. *laũkas*, 'open country.' The original and fundamental idea seems to be 'clearance,' land from which forest has been cleared away, as distinct from *feld*, which appears to be land which has always been clear and open. See *feld* above.

Lea in the Mod. dialects is used as follows:—(1) 'pasture, grassland, untilled land, cultivated land under grass, a field, meadow'; (2) a recently mown clover field, clover or rye grass stubble.

The element is very common as an independent word in O. E., and also very frequent in pl. ns.:—*Āclea*, C. D., i. p. 263 (815, *Ockley*, Surrey); *Longanleag*, C. D., i. p. 26 (824); *Beonetlege*, C. D., ii. p. 59 (855, *Bentley*, Worcs.), etc., etc.

In H. G. names in *-loh(e)* are common, *Hohenlohe*, *Emseloh*, *Heidloh*, etc., while among Dutch and Flemish names there are *Everdinklo*, *Schoonlo*, *Waterloo*.

Lancashire Names.—(1) Lea, Preston; Leagreen, Garst.; Lee; Leigh, Wigan; Lyeland, Preston. (For Leagrim, see *hlaþa*.) (2) Appearing as *-ley*: Acornley, Nels.; Ashley, Rib., etc.; Astley, Eccl., etc.; Bailey, Rib.; Bardsley, Auh.; Barley, Burn.; Beverley, Nels.; Blackley, Burn.; Bleansley, B.-in-F.; Bradley, Chip; Buckley, Rib.; Cadley, Preston; Chaigley, Clith.; Cleveley, Garst.; Cockley Beck, Con.; Crawley's Moss, Garst.; Cuerdley, Warr.; etc. Osmotherley, see sub *hlǣw*.) (3) Appearing as *lee*: After Lee, Chip.; Birchen Lee, Chip.; Constable Lee, Ross; Dolphinlee, Lanc.

Leir, O. N., 'clay, mire.'

Cp. *Leyrepitts* in Gilling (Yorks.), Edw. I., Abbrev. Plac., p. 233.

Lancashire Name.—Larbreck.

Līn, O. E. 'flax.' Also identical in form in O. Sax., O. H. G. and O. N.

This element seems to occur in *Lintune*, in a Ch. of Edw. Confessor (1053), Thorpe's Diplomatar., p. 352. The four *Lintons* in Yorks. appear to be of this origin. Cp. K.'s Inq., pp. 203. 70, 324, etc. *Linthorpe* (Yorks.) on the other hand appears as *Levingthorpe*, etc. in K.'s Inq. *Līn* is probably the first element in Yorks. *Lingards* (cp. the form *Lingarthys* in the

Nomina Villarum, K.'s Inq., p. 351), and also in Lancs. (Lower) *Lingart.*

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Linacre, and perhaps Lindal Moor, Dalton, and Lindale, Grange, Lynholm.

Lind, linde, O. E., 'linden, lime-tree.'

There are several names containing this element in the O. E. Chs.—e.g. ve *Lindhyrste* (Lindhurst, Hants.), ann. 966, Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 216; *Linderugga=*Lindhryċġ* (twelfth century ?), Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 448; *Lindbeorge,* Will of Ulf., c. 1066, Thorpe, p. 595.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Lindeth, and perhaps Lindale ?

M

Mæd, 'mead,' O. E., this word belongs to the class of *-wō-* stems.

The suffix which disappears in the nom. sing. is retained in the oblique cases—e.g. dat. *mædwe, mædewe,* etc. From such a form as this comes Mod. Engl. *meadow. Mæd* is related to the O. E. noun *mæþ,* 'mowing, that which is mown,' cp. *aftermath,* and to the verb *mā-wan.* Thus a 'mead' is primarily grassland kept for hay, land to be *mown,* as distinct from either grazing or plough-land.

The Mod. dials. still preserve to some extent the old sense, 'a field set apart for hay in contradistinction to pasture-land' (Yorks., N.-E. Lincs., N.-W. Derby, Lincs., Glos.), E. D. D.

Wright, or his assistant, quotes Marshall, Rural Economy, p. 1787, as giving the definition 'any low, flat grassland, which has not been ploughed, and is usually mown, in contradistinction to *ground* or *ham,*'

It will be remembered that in the nursery rhyme of 'Boy Blue,' the result of inattention, the position is that 'the sheep 's in the *meadow,* the cow 's in the corn,' the suggestion obviously being that a *meadow* was as unsuitable a place for sheep, as 'the corn' is for cows.

It is unnecessary to illustrate the occurrence either of the perfectly well-known and recognisable elements in pl. ns.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Breightmet, Bolt.; Meadhop Hane, Morec.; Meadows Heads, Blackb.; Meadow Top, Blackb.

Mæġ, O. E., 'woman, kinswoman.'

This word is commonly applied in O. E. poetry to such persons as Eve (Genesis, 895), Sarah (Genesis, 1850), and to the Blessed Virgin *seo eadge mæg* (Crist., 87). See the above in B.-T. The closely related word *mæġþ* is similarly used in O. E. The

O. H. G. cognate of this latter word is *magad*, and this seems to be the first element in *Magdeburg*.

Lancashire Name.—Maghull.

Mǣre (chiefly in compounds), also *ġemǣru* (pl.), O. E., 'end, boundary, termination, limit.'

The latter word is used frequently in O. E. Chs. in defining the boundaries of a property. N. and S. notes to Crawf. Ch., viii. p. 114, note that 'the word *mǣre*, "a meer, boundary," seems to occur in compounds in the form *mær*.' They note several examples from Birch—on *mǣr* broc . . . on *mærston* . . . on ðone *mær* pyt, iii. 150, 26; a be *ġemǣre* þæt on ða heafod stoccas, of ðan stoccan on ðone *mærstan*, of ðan stane a be *ġemǣre*.

In C. D., we find *Cyssestanes gemæro*, No. 700 (Keston, Kt.); *Cingtuninga ġemǣre*, 1221; *Cinghæma ġemære*, 1212, etc.

The Mod. Engl. dials. use *mear* in the sense of (1) 'boundary limit, landmark' (Nthumb., Lakel., Chesh. [obs.], Yorks., Notts., Lincs.); (2) 'a balk or strip of grass left as a boundary in common fields, or between different properties, a grassy ridge of ground' (Nthants., Glos., Berks., E. Angl., Norf., Wilts.), E. D. D.

The other uses given, and their distribution, do not appear important for our purpose.

Lancashire Name.—Ellesmere.

Melr, O. N., 'a kind of wild oats, especially bent grass, arundo avenaria growing in sandy soil; a sand-hill grown with bent grass; then, generally, a sand-bank, whether overgrown or bare,' Cleasby-Vigf.

Of the Mod. Engl. dialect usage, the E. D. D. notes that *meal* (mīl), means 'a sandbank, or sandhill, frequent in proper names' (Lakel., Lancs., Chesh., Lincs., E. Anglia).

Apart from Lancs. name, the element occurs in *Meols* (mɛlz), Wirral; *Esk Meals*, *Mealsgate*, Cumb.; *Brancaster Meals*, *Blakeney Meals*, Norf. [It appears always to be used in the pl. in pl. ns.]

The Old Icelandic Sturl. Saga has *Melr-akka-hváll*, *Rauda-melr*. This last name seems to survive in the family name *Rothmell*, which Dr. Hirst informs me still survives in the north of the county near Lancaster. It is probably from the pl. n. which occurs in D. B., 332, as *Rodemele* (Craven, Yorks.), and means 'red sand-bank,' the first element being O. N. *raupr*.

Lancashire Names.—Cartmel; Mellor ?, Black'b; North Meols, Southp't.

Mere, O. E., (1) 'the sea,' (2) 'mere, lake,' (3) 'artificial pool,' B.-T.; O. S. *meri*, 'sea'; O. H. G. *mari*, *meri*, etc., 'sea.' In the Mod. Engl. dial. as in English, 'small lake, or sheet of standing water,' E. D. D.

I do not profess to be able to distinguish this element from the following *mǣr*, etc., with any certainty.

Lancashire Names.—Marland, Bury ?; Marsham, Wyres. ? Marton, Blackp'l; Martin Mere, Blackp'l; Mearley, Burn.; Mearness, Cart. ?; Mere Brow, Ormsk.; Mere Clough, Ross; Mere Tarn, Dalton; Marton Mere, Blackp'l.

Mersċ, 'marsh,' O. E.; Mod. Fris. *marsk*, 'marsh land, low, watery land'; Mod. Dutch *meersche* and *mersche*, 'marsh, pasture'; M. L. G. *mersch*, *marsch*, etc., 'pasture land.' The Mod. Engl. dials., besides the ordinary meaning, use the word in the sense of 'rich, grazing land' (Somers.), 'meadows by the riverside, whether dry or marshy' (Derby), E. D. D.

The element is apparently not very old as a permanent part of a pl. n., hence it rarely loses its independence of form and meaning, and this seems true of foreign as well as English names.

Lancashire Names.—Angerton Marsh, Ulv.; Marsh Grange, Dal.; Marsh Green, Wigan; Marsham, Wyres. ?; Marshside, Southp't. [Note *Dunnermersk* near Osmotherley, Cal. Ch. D. of L., No. 132, p. 176, 1262-74.]

Minni, mynni, O. N., 'mouth of a river,' also in Engl. pl. ns., the junction of two rivers; Dan. *minde*, as in *Kjerteminde*, etc., Cleasby-Vigf.; O. H. G. *gimundi*; Mod. Germ. *gemünd*.

The corresponding O. E. words are *mūþa* from **munþa*- and (ġe)-*mȳþ* from *ga-*munþi*. The former is found in A.-S. Chronicle, ann. 893, Plummer's Ed., i. p. 84:—and þa comon up on *Limene muþan* (Lymne Harbour, Kt.), and in several places in Orosius. Cp. B.-T. The latter word, which seems to mean the junction of two rivers, is rarer, but occurs in Bede's Hist., A.-S. version, bk. v. ch. vi.: . . . wæs abbud on þam mynstre æt þam *ġemyþum* (dat. pl.), Tyne streames, p. 573 in Schipper's Ed. Bibl. d. ags Prosa. This word survives in Mod. Engl., *The Mythe* Tewkesbury, 'the name of a point of land at the junction of the Severn and the Avon.' See N. and S.'s note in Crawf. Ch., p. 114, on the passage in Ch. viii. l. 33, p. 20, of þa mærstane to þæm *gemȳþan*. This note is important in throwing light on the meaning of the O. E. word. The writers assert that it means not only the junction of two rivers, but show that it is used for the junction of two roads in the boundaries of

Farnborough, Berks.—to þæra wega *gemȳþam*, Birch, ii. 308, 27. Dr. Henry Bradley points out that the Norse *minni* occurs in *Armin*, Yorks., at the confluence of the Ayre and Ouse (Crawf. Ch., p. 113, footnote). Professor Moorman refers me to *Niddermine in Beningbrough* (Cal. Ch. Rlls., ii. p. 444), situated, he says, at the confluence of the Nidd and Ouse. In the Shetland dial. *minn* means 'a mouth, inlet, or arm of the sea, a deep hollow in the bottom of the sea, a bay or gulf, the water of which is deeper than that of the sea outside it,' Jakobsen.

J. mentions the pl. n. *Swarbrack's Minn*, Shetl. *Talmine* in Sutherlandsh. perhaps contains the word. *Neckargemund* near Heidelberg, contains the H. G. of this word. The O. N. form occurs in the pl. n. *Dalsminni* (Icel. Sturl. Saga), cit. Cleasby-Vigf.

Lancashire Name.—Stalmine, Fleetw.

Mōr, O. E., 'a moor, waste and damp land,' also 'high waste ground, a mountain'; O. H. G. *muor*, 'bog, morass, moor'; M. L. G. *mōr*, 'moor.'

In the Mod. Engl. dials. *moor* has various meanings:—(1) 'heath, heathy waste, unenclosed land' (Scotl., Nthumb., Durh., Cumb., Westm., Yorks.); (2) 'hill' (E. Yorks.); (3) 'wet, marshy, swampy land; rough, swampy piece of pasture land' (Chesh., Shropsh., Clos., Kent, Somers., Dev.); (4) 'low, marshy meadow by the waterside' (Shropsh.).

Lancashire Names.—Anglesark Moor, Riv.; Aspull Moor, Wigan; Barley Moor, Burn.; Black Moor, Eccl.; Broughton Moor, Con.; Coniston Moor, Con.; Crossmoor, Garst.; Edgeworth Moor, Dar.; Holland Moor, Ormsk.; Marcroft Gate, Roch.; Moorfield, Kirkh'm; Moorgarth, Caton; Moorside, Garst.; Moreton, Clith.; Whitmore Fm., Garst.; Quernemore, Lanc.

Mos, O. E., 'a moss, a marshy place'; M. Dutch *mos*, 'swamp, morass'; Mod. Fris. *moas*; O. H. G. *mos*, 'swamp.'

This word occurs singly and in compounds in O. E.—to *mossetena* gemære—ðis syndon ðes landes gemære æt *mosleage*, C. D., ii. p. 52 (cit. B.-T.).

The Mod. dials. use the word in the original senses:—(1) 'bog, swamp, marshy ground, peat bog, place where peats may be cut' (Nth of Engl., as far south as Lancs., Chesh., Derby, Yorks.); (2) 'an unweeded hill' (Yorks and Lancs.); (3) 'a lake overgrown with weeds' (cit. by Wright from eighteenth century glossaries, etc.), E. D. D.

The O. E. *mēōs*, which is in ablaut relation to *mos*, means the

plant 'moss' or 'lichen.' It has been lost in Standard Engl., and the cognate has usurped its functions. It survives in the dialects, as *meese*. Wright explains it as 'moss, lichen growing on apple trees.'

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Angerton Moss, B.-in-F.; Aughton. Moss, Liv.; Black Moss, Lower Burn.; Catchdale Moss, St, Hel.; Chat Moss, Eccl.; Moss Bridge, Manch.; Moss Croft, Wigan; Mossborough, Liv.

Munt, This word, from Lat. *montem*, has the same form in O. E., into which it was borrowed, and in Norm.-French.

In names like Beaumont, which were Norman creations in this country, it is obviously of the latter origin. In some pl. ns., however, it may be of English origin.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Beaumont, Lanc.; Belmont, Rivington; Montcliffe, Wigan; Montford, Nelson (probably from O. E. *munt*).

Mylen, O. E., 'mill'; L. L. *molîna*; O. H. G. *mulî*, *mulîn*; O. N. *mylna*.

The Mod. form *miln* appears to be derived from the oblique cases: O. E. *mylne*, etc., while the O. E. nom. *mylen* gives the ordinary form *mill*.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Milnrow, Roch.; Milnshaw, Blackb.; Millbank, Kirk'm.

Mȳrr, O. N., 'moor, bog, swamp'; Mod. Engl. *mire*; M. E. *mūr*, *mīr*, 'mud, mire,' Stratmann-Bradley.

The Mod. dials. use 'mire' pretty much in the same sense as we do in Standard English—'bog, swamp, wet, boggy land' (Scotl., Lakel., Westm.), E. D. D.

Cleasby-Vigf. give the old pl. ns. *Alptumȳrr*, *Rauðamȳrr*. The Sturl. Saga has *Bleiksmyrardalr*, *Flugumȳrr*.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Eller Mire, B.-in-F.; Feathermire, Wray.; Grace Mire Ho., Garst.; Hollowmire, Ulv.; Longmire, Stav.; Mire Pole, Bilsb.; Myerscough, Bilsb.; Swallow Mire, Grange.

N

Næsse, næss, O. E., 'headland, promontory, land running out into the water.' Also 'cliff,' cp. Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. Mod. Fris. *nes* in pl. ns.; Middle Dutch *nesse*, 'low-lying wet land'; Dutch *nes* 'alluvial ground'; O. N. *nes*; Mod. Norw. *nes*, 'promontory.'

In Mod. Engl. dials. *ness*, 'promontory, headland,' is used in Scotl., Yorks., Lancs., I. of M., Lincs., Shropsh., Kent.

The O. E. *næss* occurs in Beowulf, 1358 :—*windiġe næssas*, and ibid., 2417—*ġesæt se cyning on næsse*, etc.

In pl. n. *Fiscnæss* is found, C. D., i. p. 216 (801), and *Herces næs* C. D., iii. p. 437. In Beowulf we have also the pl. ns. *earna næs*, 3031, and *Hrones næs*, 2805. All these pl. ns. are referred to by B.-T.

It is highly probable that the *-ness* of Mod. Engl. pl. ns is the Scandinavian word.

On the other hand the Engl. *naze* may represent an O. E. **næse*, M. E. *nāse* (oblique case).

The original meaning of the word is 'nose,' and it is presumably cognate with O. E. *nosu*, although the precise relationship is not clear.

Lancashire Names.—(1) from nominative : Amounderness ; Crossens, S'pt. ; Furness ; Mearness Point, Cart. ; Widnes, Liv. (2) from oblique cases : Foulnaze, Stouhp't ; Far Naze, Near Naze, Morec. ; Naze Mount, Kirkh.

Nebb, O. E., 'beak, beak-shaped thing, nose.' Applied in O. E. to the beak of a bird, of a ship, and of a plough. M. Low G. *nebbe*, *nibbe* ; Mod. Low Germ. *nibbe*, used in same sense as O. E. word ; O. N. *nef*, 'nose, beak.'

The O. N. word occurs in pl. ns :—*Dufunefsskeið* (Icel.), Landnb. ; *Girðinefsgata* (Icel.), Sturl. Saga.

The development of pronunciation in the form *Nab* is not clear to me.

Lancashire Names.—Healey Nab, Rivington ; Nab's Head, Blackb'n. ; Nab Point, Ulv. ; Nab Side, Clith. ; Reb Nab, Morec.

Neoþor, O. E., 'lower' ; Mod. Engl. *nether* ; O. Sax. *nidar* ; O. Fris. *nithere*, *nedere* ; O. H. G. *nidar*.

In O. E. we find such forms as *Neotheretune*, C. D., i. p. 167 ; (*Nettherton*, Worcs.), *neðere hām̄a ġemām̄re*, C. D., iv. p. 70 ; *nyðran tune*, C. D., vi. p. 144 ; *nyðeran Stanforda*, C. D., vi. p. 153.

Among Mod. Engl. pl. ns. are *Netherby* (Cumb.) ; *Nethercote*, Warwcs.

Lancashire Names.—Netherley Waterwks., Liv. (Gateacre) ; Netherton, Liv. ; Netherwood, Nels.

Norþ, O. E., 'north'; O. Fris. *north, nord*; O. Sax. *nord*; O. H. G. *nord, nort*.

This element occurs in *Norfolk*. O. E. *Norþfolc*, e.g. in A.-S. Chron. (Laud MS.), 1075, Plummer's Ed., vol. i. p. 210. *Norwich*, O. E. *Norþwic*, e.g. in A.-S. Chron. (Laud MS.), Plummer's Ed., i. p. 135.

Lancashire Names.—Norbreck, Poulton; Norbrick, Lancaster; Norcross, Poult.; Norden, Roch.; North Moor, Liv.; North Wharf, Fleetw.; Northwood, Burn.

O

Oddi, O. N., 'triangle, point, tongue of land,' also *Oddr* O. N., 'point of land, spot, place' These words correspond to O. E. *ord*, 'point of a weapon'; O. Sax. *ord*, 'point'; O. Fris. *ord*, 'point'; O. H. G. *ort*, 'place'; Middle Dutch *ort, oort*, 'uttermost part of anything, point of a weapon, corner, place.'

Cleasby-Vigf. says that O. N. *oddi* is frequent in local names, and instances *Odda-staðr* (Sturl. Saga). A Mod. Norw. pl. n. containing this element is *Nesodden*.

In H. G. *ort* has the quite general meaning of 'place, locality.'

Lancashire Name.—Greenodd, Ulverston.

P

Pīc, O. E., from Latin *pīca*, 'pick-axe, point, pike.'

In the Mod. dial. *pike* means, amongst other things, 'a pointed hill, conical top of a hill or mountain' (Nthumb., Lakel., Cumb., Westm., N.-E. Lancs. etc.), E. D. D.

Lancashire Names.—Brown Pike, Con.; Mallowdale Pike, Roeb.; Pike Lowe, Blackb'n.; Piked Edge, Nels.; Pikethorn Wood, Carn.; Randy Pike, Hawks.

Pōl, pull, O. E., 'pool, creek'; O. Fris. *-pol*; Middle Dutch *poel*; M. L. G. *pōl, pūl*; O. H. G. *pfuol*; O. N. *pollr*. Lithuanian *bala*, 'swamp,' is a cognate.

O. E. *pōl* and *pul* are different ablaut grades of the same original base. Although Mod. names generally end in *pool* as from the *pōl* form, this is in most cases a new formation from the independent word, since in the older forms of pl. ns., *-pul* is far more common.

In *pul* there is in O. E. *mawpul*, C. D., iii. p. 79 (972), and with this as a first element, *Pultun*, C. D., iii. p. 86 (725). In *pōl*

there is *on hlydapōl*, C. D., vi. p. 186. For other examples, see in Pt. I. above, under *Liverpool*.

The Mod. Engl. dials. use *pool* in various senses:—(1) 'large sheet of natural water, small lake, wide watery ditch, large open drain' (Nth. Country, Cumb., Chesh., Shropsh.); (2) 'slow-moving rivulet' (Scotl.); (3) 'watery, marshy place, swamp' (Scotl.); (4) 'small creek which affords landing-place for boats' (Scotl.), E. D. D.

The element is rare in H. G., but is fairly common in L. G., e.g. *Brandpull*, Rhn. Prov.; *Feschpohl*, *Stirzenpuhl*, Rhn. Prov.

Lancashire Names. — Blackpool; Black Pole, Bilsb.; Liverpool; Otterspool, Liv.; Pool Heys, S'port; Poolfoot, Fleetw.; Poolstock, Wigan; Poulton, Morec., etc.; Pull Bay Ho.; Hawks.; Pull Garth Wood, Hawks.; Rusland Pool, Stav.; Stake Pool.; Steerspool, B.-in-F.; Wilderspool Ho., Eccl.

Pott, O. E. loan-word from Latin? As the name of a vessel the word is found in most Gmc. languages—Fris. and Dutch *pot*; O. Icel. *pottr*; Swed. *pota*, etc.; Low Lat. *pottus*; French *pot*. Skeat takes this to be an originally Gmc. word, but there is as much evidence against as for this view.

In Mod. dials. of the Nth. and Midlands the word is used in the sense of 'a deep hole, especially in the bed of a river, a pool, a moss hole from which peats have been dug,' E. D. D. Cp. *Grack Pot*, and *Soyden Pot* in N. Yorks.

Lancashire Name.—Priest Pot, Erthwaite.

Prēost, O. E., 'priest,' is the first element in the following

Lancashire Names.—Prescot, Liverpool; Preston, Prestwich, Bury; Priest Hutton; Priest Pot, Hawks.

R

Rāw, Ræw, O. E., 'row of trees, stones, etc.' also 'boundary.' In the Mod. dials., and indeed in ordinary English, the word *row* is used of a series of houses, and often extended to mean the street on which they stand. In Chesh. and E. Anglia, according to the E. D. D., the word means 'a narrow passage, covered footway.' Cp. *The Rows* at Chester. Originally it was also used for a 'ridge of ground' in Aberdeenshire. This use is now obs., E. D. D.

Lancashire Names.—Birk Row, B.-in-F.; Callow Row, Nels.; Cold Row, Fleetw.; Fisher's Row, Garst.; Milnrow, Rochd.

Rēād, 'red,' the colour; O. Sax. *rōd*; O. Fris. *rād*; O. H. G. *rōt*; O. N. *rauðr*.

In pl. ns. it refers to the colour of earth, rocks, etc.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Radcliff, Redbank, Chorley; Red Dell Head, Conniston; Red Moss, Caton; Red Nab, Morec.; Rawcliff (*raudr*, 'red,' O. N., probably pers. n. here; cp. in Pt. I.); Rawfold, B.-in-F.; ? Rothfall, Wyresdale.

Ruđ, Rjōđr, O. N. Both these words have the same meaning, viz. 'a clearing in a wood.'

The Mod. dialect word *royd*, which means the same thing, is apparently derived from the latter, through an intermediate form **rōd*. The change from *ō* to (oi) is usual in Yorkshire. Cp. Wright, Windhill Dialect, § 109. The suffix *-royd* is very common in Yorks. Cp. *Boothroyd*, *Dobroyd*, etc.

Thus *royd* appears to be the normal development of the independent word. The form *-rod*, which also occurs in unstressed syllables in Lancs., is merely the shortened form of **rōd* in this position. *-royd* in the unstressed syllable is due to the influence of the independent word.

In High Low Germ. pl. ns. the word occurs in the form *-rōde* (from **roda*, from **ruda*, cp. O. N. *ruð*), and also as *-rāde*: *Elzenrot*, *Obertsrot*, etc., Heilig. Ortsn.Baden, p. 55; *St. Marienrode*, Sax. Netherlands; *Sterkrade*, Gelderland; *Beckerode*, Osnabrück; *Bülterode*, Münster; *Sellenrade*, Westfäl. In Norway *-rud* and *röd* are fairly common:—*Brangerud*, *Ingelsrud*, *Karteröd*, etc.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Blackrod, St. Hel.; Boothroydon, Bury; Heyrod, Mossley; Heyroyd, Nels.; Huntroyde, Burn.; Langroyd Hall, Nels.; Ormerod, Burn.

Ryġe, O. E., 'rye'; O. Sax. *Roggo*; E. Fris. *rogge*; O. H. G. *roggo*, *rocko*, etc.; O. N. *rugr*; Mod. Norw. *rug*, *rog*.

The element is not uncommon in Continental names:—*Roggendorf*, Meckl. Schwer.; *Roggenhagen*, Meckl.-Strel. In Norway *Rugland* near Akershus.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Ryelands, Morec.; ? Ryscar, Poulton; Royton, Oldh.

Rysċ, risċ, 'rush,' O. E.; M. Dutch *rusch*; M. H. G. *rusche*; Mod. Fris. *rusk*.

The element occurs in pl. ns. in various parts of England, e.g. *Rishworth*, W. R. Yorks.; *Rushbrook*, Suff.; *Rushlake Green*, Suss., etc., etc. On the Continent there is *Ruskefinne*, Frisian; *Rusfort*, Hanover, etc., etc.

Lancashire Names. — Rishton, Blackb.; ? Risley Moss, Warr.; ? Rusholme, Manchester; ? Rusland, Stav.

S

Sand, O. E., 'sand, gravel'; O. Sax. *sand*; O. H. G. *sant*.

This seems a fairly common element in pl. ns. in most Germc. languages, e.g. *Sandlöken*, Westfäl.; *Sandberg*, Rhn. Prov. Among Mod. Norwegian names are *Sandbrekka*, *Sanderöd*.

Lancashire Names.—Cockersand, Lancast.; Sand Gate, Cartm.; Sand ground, Hawks.; Sandfold, ; Sandscale Hows, Dalton; Sandy Brow, Liv.

Sċeaga [**-shaw**], 'small wood, copse, thicket'; O. H. G. *scahho*, 'promontorium, landzunge'; M. H. G. *schache*, 'Stück einzelnstehendes Waldes.'

The word does not seem to occur as a separate independent word in O. E. apart from Chs. *on þam lytlan sceagan*, Birch Ch., 356, ann. 816 (quoted by Middendorff, p. 111); *on bremles sceagan*, Cod. Dipl., ii. p. 172, ann. 931. The word occurs with reference to a particular 'shaw' in *morsceagan* (Berks.), Cod. Dipl., iv. p. 74, ann. 1043; juxta silvam qui dicunt *Toccansceaga*, Cod. Dipl., i. p. 121.

Continental Use.—N. Swiss: *schachen*, 'dickes Gehölz von allerlei Buschwerk an einem Flussbette, oder ein in weiter Strecke mit Gesträuchen wild bewachsenes Ofer (Schade). Swabian: *Schachen*, 'kleines, zungenförmiges Gehölz.' Occurs also as a pl. n. in Baden, Heilig., p. 38.

-shaw is the English form, of which *-scough*, etc., is the Scand. cognate. See *skōgr*.

In the Mod. Engl. dial. *shaw* has several meanings:—(1) 'small wood, coppice,' etc. (Scotl., Nthumb., Durh., Cumb., Yorks., S. Lancs., Chesh., Staffs., etc.); (2) 'a flat piece of ground at the foot of a hill or steep bank' (Roxb.); (3) 'a boggy place on a moor' (W. Yorks.), E. D. D.

Cp. also *skōgr* below for Mod. names in *-scough*, etc.

Lancashire Names.—(N.B.—Some of the following names may contain O. E. *haga*, preceded by gen. *-s*.): Audenshaw. A. w. L.; Balshaw, Higher Roeb., Lower Wray; Beardshaw, Nels.; Bradshaw, Bolt.; Brunshaw, Burn.; Buckshaw Hall, Chorley; Cadshaw, Dar.; Cadshaw, Higher and Lower, Rib.; Catshaw, Wyres.; Catshaw Fell, Garst.; Catshaw Greave, Garst.; Coldshaw Booth., Burn.; Cowlishaw, Oldham; Cran-

shaw Hill, Liv.; Cronshaw, Clith.; Dunkenshaw, Wyres.; Carnshaw Bridge, Preston; Fulshaw Head, Burnley; Goodshaw, Ross; Greenshaw, Nels.; Grimshaw, Black.; Hathershaw, A. w. L.; Hayshaw Fell, Garst., N.-E.; Hempshaws, Ross; Higginshaw, Oldh.; Laneshaw (River), Nels.; Linnyshaw Colliery, Eccl.; Longshaw Common, Wigan; Marshaw Fell, Wyres.; Mellishaw, Morse; Milnshaw, Black.; Openshaw. Manch.; Runshaw Hall, Runshaw Moor, Chorley; Shaw, Odh.; The Shaw, Rib.; Shaw Edge, Oldh.; Shaw Green, Bilsb.; Shaw Hill, Chorley; Shaw Houses, Clith.; ? Shaw Side, Oldh.; Shaw Wood, Wray; Shawclough, Roch. N.; Shawfield, Noch. N.; Shawforth, Roch. N.; Shawhead Farm, Nels.; Shaws, Fleetw.; Smallshaw, A. w. L.; Stubshaw Moss, A. in M.; Swineshaw Moor, Mossley; Walshaw, Nels.

Scealu, scalu, O. E., 'shell, husk.'

The compound on *þa stān-scale* is found in C. D., iii. p. 378 (Worcs. 814). This is quoted both by B.-T. and by Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 315. The former takes the meaning to be merely 'shale,' the latter apparently takes it to mean a 'hut,' or 'shelter,' and compares Scotch *sheal*.

The O. N. *skāli* means 'hut, shed,' and this is undoubtedly the origin of the Mod. element *-schole*, etc., and further it is no doubt the ancestor of M. E. *scāle*, cit. Stratmann-Bradley, from Cursor Mundi in the sense of 'shed.' Cp. also Björkman, Loanwords, i. p. 93. The Norse form would also give a Mod. Engl. *scale* (skēl) in the Nth. dialects, and *scōle* in M. E. in Sth. and Midlands. It is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a connection between the O. E. and O. N. words as *ă—ā* do not occur in ablaut relation. On the other hand it is possible that in later English the native word and the loan-word have been confused, have influenced each other's form, and that the sense of the latter has been transferred to the former.

The Mod. Dials. have *scale* (skēl, skiəl) in the sense of 'hut' or 'shelter,' also *skeeling* (skīlin), etc., meaning pretty much the same thing (E. D. D.). These occur only in the Nth. and in Scotland, and are pretty certainly from the Norse. The element is used in Norse Pl. Ns., e.g. in O. N. *Skalaholt* (Cleasby-Vigf.), in Mod. n. *Venneskaal* (Rygh Gaardn, p. 53). There are several names in Cumb., Westm, and Yorks. which seem to contain this element. I am doubtful whether *skel-* in pl. ns. has anything to do with it.

Lancashire Names. — Brinscall, Blackb.; Loundscales,

Ribch.; Ellenscales; Dangscales; Scale, Roeb.; Scale Green, Hawks.; Scaleber, Tunst.; Scalestones Pt., Morec.; Sandscale Howiel, Dal.; Scolefd, Nels.?; Skelboro Barn, Caton; Skeldon Moor, Ursw.; Skelworth, Hawks.?; Feniscowles.

Schēding, M. E., 'division.' This word is formed from the verb *schēden*, O. E. *sċēādan*, 'to divide.'

In Ayr and the Nth. of Ireland, *sheddings* means 'the place where cross-roads intersect,' E. D. D.

In Low German the forms *scheid*, *schede* occur in pl. ns., e.g. *Falscheide*, *Brenschede*, and *Scheidingen*, the exact cognate of the M. E. word is the name of a pl. near Soest in Westfäl. Cp. Jellinghaus, Westfäl. On., p. 118. The words according to J. mean a 'division, or boundary which may refer to hills, rivers, and human dwellings.' Heilig, Baden, p. 67, mentions the name *Gescheid*, which he says has the sense of '*Grenze*,' 'boundary.'

We are familiar with the element in English in the word *water-shed*.

Lancashire Name.—Watersheddings, Pendle.

Seolfor, O. E., 'silver'; O. Sax. *siluƀar*; O. Fris. *selver*, *silver*; O. H. G. *silubar*, etc.; O. N. *silfr*.

In pl. ns. this element probably refers to the colour of the locality. Cp. *the Silver Strand* on Loch Katrine.

It appears to be used in Continental names in *Silberhardt*, Rhn. Prov.; *Silbernachen*, Alsace and Lor. In O. N. *Silfrastaðir* occurs in Sturl. Saga, but this is perhaps a pers. n.?

Among English names are *Silver How*, Westm.; *Silverhill*, Dev.; *Silverley*, Camb. Cp. Skeat's Pl. Ns. of Cambs., p. 66.

Lancashire Names.—Silver Holme, Staveley. Silverdale, Lancast., has an entirely different origin. See this name in Pt. I.

Sēte, M. E., 'seat.' This word is common in M. E., though O. E. **sæte* is not found. *Sēte* may be O. N. *sæti*, which has the same meaning, or it may be from an O. E. form which has not been recorded. Again the O. E. *sæt*, 'ambush, place where one lies in wait' (B.-T.) may have had the further and more general meaning of 'seat, settling place.' O. E. *sæta*, 'settler' exists, and it would indeed be strange if no cognate for the place where the settlements took place existed.

In the Mod. Engl. dials., Wright records the following meanings for *seat*, which seem to our purpose:—(1) 'dwelilng, pasturage' (Cumb., Westm.); (2) 'summit of a hill' (Cumb., W.

Yorks.). [How are we to regard *on Beornwoldes sætan*, C. D., iii., p. 79 (ann. 972) ? Is this the settlers or the 'seat' itself, in this case a weak noun ?]

In the second element of pl. ns., the word appears in M. E. as *-sete*, *-sate*, *-sat*, etc. Already in the sixteenth century we find this element replaced by 'head,' preceded by a genitive *-s*, e.g. *Swyneshede*, 1561, for D. B. *Suenesat*, Mod. *Swainshead*. Names which originally contained this element often end in *-side* in the Mod. period. Cp. the following list, and the early forms of each name in Pt. I. above.

The element seems to occur in Friesland in the form *sate*= 'homestead, freehold property,' in *Allema sate*, *Beintene-sate*, *Eysinge-sate*, etc., etc. In H. G. we have *Neusass*, *Odengesäss*, Baden. In Norway such present-day forms as *Bruset*, *Helset*, *Langset*, etc., occur.

Lancashire Names.—Barnside, Colne ; Cadishead, Warr. (see old forms) ; ? Ellerside, Cartmel and Staveley ; ? Gambleside, Rossendale ; ? Hammerside Point, Ulverston ; Selside, Stephen's Head, Swainshead.

Sīc or **sīce** (?), O. E. 'water-course' ; O. H. G. *gi-sīch*, 'stagnum, lacus, palus' ; O. N. *sīk*, 'ditch' ; Mod. Norw. *sik*, 'small swamp, bog' (Aasen, p. 647).

In the O. E. chs. we find *Wætansīc*, C. D., iii. p. 381 (757-75) ; on *Colomores sic*, C. D., iii. p. 462 (963) ; *fearnhylles sic*, C. D., iv. p. 20. The first of the above and several other instances from the chs. in which the word is used are given in B.-T.

In the Mod. dials. there are two forms—*sike* and *sich*. The former means not only a 'small rill,' but also 'a ditch, a gutter, a marshy hollow containing a stream,' and 'boggy land.' It appears to be used all over the Nth. and Midlands, including Lancs.

Sick has practically the same meanings :—(1) 'brook, ditch, drain, gutter, ravine' (W. Yorks., Chesh., Northants., Somers.) ; (2) 'a spring in a field which forms a boggy place, swamp, bog' (Lancs., Chesh., Der., Shropsh.).

In Westphalia and Brunswick *sick* means 'a narrow valley with a water-course in it.' See Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 315, who says that it is 'in Ortsnamen und namentlich Flurnamen überall häufig.'—But where ? I cannot find any allusion to the word in J.'s Westfäl. On. In Anglia he says that theré are forty names containing this element in Holstein, and that it is rarer in Sleswig.

Lancashire Names.—Black Sike, Con. ; Egg Syke, Clith. ;

*Gosfordsike ; Harlesike, Nels. ; Syke, Littleb., Roch. ; Syke House, Rib. ; Syke Side, Burnl. ; Tarnsyke Clough, Wyres.

Sīde, O. E., ' side, flank ' ; O. Sax. *sida* ; O. H. G. *sīta*.

In ordinary English we speak of a hillside, a country side, etc., and there is nothing in the dialects that differs materially from this usage so far as the application of the word to geographical features is concerned. When we find that in those pl. ns. in Lancs. which now end in *-side*, for which earlier forms are forthcoming (cp. *Arnside, Selside* in Pt. I.) the origin is something quite different, we are inclined to be suspicious of all pl. ns. containing this element. Jellinghaus remarks that the Continental Low German forms no names with this element, which rather points to *-side* in English names being quite modern. The following names therefore are given under reserve, except such apparently obvious ones as Fellside, Moor side, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Affeside, Dar. ; Arnside (see under *hēāfod*) ; High Banksides, Cart. ; Beck Side, Cart., Stav., Ulv. ; Border Side, Wyres. ; Brook Side, Clith. ; Ellerside. Cart., Stav. ; Fellside, Garst. ; Hammerside Point, Ulv.? ; Heyside, Oldh. ; Quarr Side, Nels. ; Moor Side, Eccl. ; Selside (see under *hēāfod*) ; Sidegarth, Carn. (may contain O. E. *sīd*, ' broad ') ; Wyreside Hall, Wyres.

Skard, O. N., ' notch, chink,' then ' a mountain pass.' Cleasby-Vigf. says, ' frequent in local names, *Skarð*, *Skorð* ; *Skarð-verjar*, ' the men from *Skarð*, Sturl., i. 199 ; *Skarða-leið*, the way through the Skörð ; *Hankadals-skarð*, *Geita-skarð*, etc., etc.

In Mod. Engl. dial. this loan-word is used in the senses of ' a place cut off, a cliff, a rock, especially a rock bare of vegetation ' (Westm., N.-E. Lancs.), E. D. D.

There is difficulty in distinguishing for certain this element from the pers. n. *Skarði*, a nickname for a man with a hare-lip. This name almost certainly occurs in *Scarborough*, *Scardeburgh* in Nom. Vill. Cp. K.'s Inq., p. 313. The form *Skarðaborg* is given by Cleasby-Vigf., but without any reference. The common noun *skarð* seems to be the origin of the second element of Aysgarth (N. R. Yorks.). This appears in D. B., 33*b*. and 51, as *Echescard*, and K.'s Inq. (cp. p. 150), as *Aykescarth*.

Lancashire Names.—Scarbarrow Hill ; Scartcliffe ; Scarth Channel, Dalt. ; Scarth Bight, Dalt. ; Scarth Hill, Liv.

[Possibly either *Skarð* or *Skarði* occurs as the first element in *Scarisbrick*, though the early forms throw no certain light.]

Sker, O. N., 'a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea' (Cleasby-Vigf.).

The Mod. Engl. dials. use *scar* as—(1) 'a bare place on a hillside, a precipice, a cliff, steep bare bank, the ridge of a hill' (Scotl., Irel., Nthumb., Durh., Cumb., Westm., Lancs., Chesh., etc., etc.); (2) 'a ridge of rocks, a bed of rough gravel or stones, a spit of sand running into a lake' (Scotl., Cumb., Yorks., N. Lancs.), E. D. D.

In Old Norse names *sker* occurs in *Bejarsker* and *Einarssker* (Landnama Bōk), and in Mod. Norw. *Rogneskjer*, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Barker Scar, Cart.; Bean Well Scar, Dal.; Bescar, Ormsk.; Billinge Scarr, Blackb.; Black Scars, Ulv.; Church Scar, Oldh.; Cloughra Scar, Caton; Cowp Scar, Cart.; Dunscar, Dar.; Hoscur Moss Wood, Ormsk. ?; Idridge Scar, Adl.; Leonard Scar, Ald.; Mitchell-car Scar., Dal.; Moat Scar, Ald.; Newbiggin Scar, Ald.; Old Skear, Morec.; Raven Scar Farm, Caton; Red Scar, Preston; Ryscar, Poulton; Scar Close, Silv.; Scarbarrow Hill, Ald.; Skerton, Lanc. ?; Wadhead Scar, Dal.; Walney Scar, Con.

Skōgr, O. N., 'a wood.' This is the Scand. cognate of O. E. *sceaga* (q. v.) and Mod. Engl. *shaw*.

The word does not seem to occur in Mod. Engl. dials. as an independent word, though common in pl. ns. in the form *-scough*, *-scow*. A form *scaw*, 'a shaw, a natural coppice,' is recorded by Wright as common in pl. ns. But does it occur independently? This form of the word (*scaw*) is apparently due to a confusion of O. N. *skōgr*, from which it gets its *sk-*, and M. E. *schawe*, from which it gets its vowel.

Among O. N. pl. ns. which contain *skōgr*, are *Dynskogar* (Icel., Landn. Bōk); *Svinaskogr* (Icel. Sturl. Saga); *Skōgtjorn* (ibid.), etc. Such Mod. Norw. pl. ns. as *Björeskog*, *Gjerskog*, *Vildskog* also exist.

Lancashire Names.—Burscough, Liv.; Cunscough Hall, Liv.; Escowbeck, Caton; Humblescough, Garst.; Myerscough, Bilsb.; Myerscough, Preston, E.; Rainscough, Manch.; Sarscow, Croston; Tarlscough, Rufford.

Slæd, 'valley,' O. E.

Thus Sweet, but B.-T. takes the word to be *slæd*, as does Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 316. For this there seems to be no justification from the Mod. forms, *slade*, which is the general form North and South. Jellinghaus (Westfäl. On., p. 120) cites a L. G. word *slade*, which he identifies with the O. E. word. In

this place J. does not mark O. E. *slæd* long, but identifies both it and the Westphalian element with *slīdan*. Such an etymology would, of course, necessitate a long vowel in O. E., but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to relate an O. E. *slæd* from **slaidi*, with the L. G. form *slade*=(slāde) ? or *sledde*. The Westphal. *slade* means 'a narrow valley through which water flows,' and *sledde*, 'a road cut through a forest, which is by preference laid in the depressions'—so, at least, I understand Jellinghaus to mean (Westfäl. O. N., loc. cit.). He appears to identify the word further with *Schläde* (Vilmar, Idioticon von Kurhessen), which means the 'road down which wood is slid,' in other words a wood-shoot. However tempting the etymology proposed by J., the forms of the various words appear to me to forbid it, though I can put no other in its place.

B.-T. gives plenty of examples of the O. E. use of the word as an element in local names and designations of boundaries from the chs., and one, from Orosius, 76, 29, as an independent word. Among the former are :—On *slades heafod*, C. D., v. p. 148; *Andlang slædes on pyt*, C. D., iii. p. 48; *on Fugelsled*, C. D., iii. p. 48. B.-T. also cites various examples of *slade* in M. E. See also Stratmann-Bradley, who gives the form *slāde*, and defines it as 'valley.'

In the Mod. Engl. dials. the word is used in various more or less closely related senses in the Nth. and Midlands and Sth. :—(1) 'valley, hollow, grassy plain between hills, side or slope of a hill' (N. Scotl., Yorks., N.-E. Lancs., Chesh.); (2) 'small open hanging wood (Suffolk); (3) 'strip of greensward through a wood or plantation, a green road' (W. Yorks., Leics., Northants, Warwcs., Suff.); (4) 'piece of boggy ground' (Northants., Shropsh., Surr).

Slakki, O. N., 'slope on a mountain edge.' Cleasby-Vigf. identifies Engl. dial. *slack*, 'hollow or sinking in the ground.' According to Wright the Engl. dial. meanings are 'hollow, especially on a hillside, shallow dell, pass between hills,' further used of low-lying hollows between sandhills; again 'a hollow, boggy place, morass, shallow, freshwater pool,' and so on in much the same sense.

If we take the O. N. word to represent an earlier **slank-*, and identify it with the L. G. *slenk*, etc., which means a winding valley, generally with water in it (cp. Leithaeuser, Bergische Ortsnamen, p. 87), the English dials. would seem to have preserved the original meaning better than the O. N. The sense

'slope' must be a secondary meaning, and developed by extending the significance of the word from the valley itself, to its sides. It is possible that O. E. had a native cognate which has been lost, and its meanings transferred to the Norse loan-word, or the O. N. may have lost its original meaning after the English had borrowed it.

I suggest in any case that the O. N. word is connected with the L. G. words, and that these preserve a once common meaning. The L. G. words have been connected with German *schlingen, schange*, etc. The development of meaning must have been something like this—something winding, a winding valley, a valley, a wet valley, a wet, boggy place. I further suggest that Engl. *slough*, O. E. *slōh* is from **slaŋh-*, and from the same base. Cp. also the remarks of Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 317, under O. E. '*slohher*.' O. H. G. *slūh*, 'water conduit,' would be from **sluŋh*, and thus in ablaut relation to O. E. *slōh*. *Slink* in Westphalia, according to Jellinghaus (Westfäl. Ortsn., p. 120), has had a special development in meaning.

Lancashire Names.—Ayneslack, Nels.; Burnslack Fell, Chip.; Eggerslack, Grange; Gradwell Slack, Poultn.; Greenslack, B.-in-F.; Harrowslack, Hawks.; Heyslacks, Clough; Nettleslack, Ulv.; Slack, Garst., Nels.; Slack Ho, Garst.; Slackhead, Nels.; Waterslack, Silv.

Smēde, adj., O. E., 'smooth.' This word is used in O. E. poetry in the sense of 'flat, level,' applied to country, as distinct from that which is composed of hills and valleys. Cp. the passage in the Phœnix :—

> 'Beorgas þær ne muntas
> steape ne stondaƀ, ne stan-clifu
> heah hlifiaƀ, swa her mid us;
> ne dene ne dalu ne dun-scrafu
> hlæwas ne hlincas; ne þær hleonaƀ oo
> *unsmēþes* wiht, etc.'
>
> ll. 20-25, cit. from Schlotterose's ed., 1908.

The O. E. mutated form is commoner than the unmutated *smōþ*, from which the Mod. Engl. comes. Wright gives *smeeth* (smīð) as occurring in Nthumb., Cumb., Chesh., Derby, and E. Anglia. In the latter part of England, he says the word is used for a 'smooth open plain,' E. D. D.

Owing to combinative changes, the element is sometimes disguised in Mod. Engl. pl. ns., e.g. *Smedley* > **smēð-læh*; it occurs shortened in *Smethwick* (Staffs.), D. B. *Smedewich*. Owing

possibly to popular etymology it also frequently appears as *Smith-*, e.g. *Smithill* in Northants., for which *Smethell* occurs, Cat. Anc. Dds., ii. p. 895, B. 3361.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Smedley, Manch.; Smithdown Land, Liv.; Smithalls Moor.

Snæd, pl. **snādas,** O. E. B.-T. simply quotes from Leo (A.-S. Names of Places, pp. 68-69), 'a piece of land within definite limits, but without enclosures, a limited circumscribed woodland or pasturage.' Sweet (A.-S. Dictionary), says 'piece of land.'

This is no doubt the original meaning of the word when applied to land, and Leo's embroideries are rather superfluous, though probably there is some evidence from the Chs. that the word may have been employed in the senses he mentions. The fundamental idea seems to be something cut off—the word is unquestionably derived from the base found in *snīþan,* 'cut,' which has the forms *snāþ*, *snidon*, etc. Cp. also in Middendorff, p. 119. Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 317, notes the O. H. G., and Lombard *snaida*, 'incisio arborum ad limites designandos,' and Middle Dutch *snede*, 'boundary.' He cites *Schnathorst* near Minden. Heilig (On. des Grossherozgtum, Baden, p. 70) gives the element O. H. G. *sneida*, which he defines as (1) 'Ausgehauener Waldweg' (cp. also Schade, ii. p. 837); (2) 'Grenze.'

B.-T. cites various passages from O. E. Chs., in which *snæd* is used :—Be þam grafe ðæt hit cymþ into ðam snæde, C. D., iii. p. 399; ðet firhðe bituihu longanleag and ðem suðtune and ða *snādas* illuc pertinentia, C. D., i. p. 261: in compounds—On ðone lytlan snaðfeld, snādhyrst, C. D., i. 273. See also Skeat's Beds. Pl. Ns., pp. 42-43. 'It meant a separated piece, a strip of land. S. connects *snæd* with *snīþan*. On the whole we may, perhaps, assume that in O. E. the word meant not only that which was cut off, but also that which cut off or divided one portion of land., etc., from another, that is a boundary. Thus *snādhyrst* may have meant a dividing or boundary wood. Cp. the Continental names :—*Schnaittach*, Bav.; *Schneidenbach* Saxony; *Schneidenhain*, Hesse.-Nassau.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Halsnead, Preston; Snodland, Clitheroe. [Thelatter name contains the unmutated *snād*].

Snāpe, M. E., 'winter pasture.' Cp. Stratmann-Bradley, who suggests a connection with O. N. *snöp*. Under this word Cleasby-Vigf. gives 'a "nip," scanty grass for sheep to nibble at in snow-covered fields,' and suggest a connection with

O. N. *snapa*, which means 'to snuffle, like a dog picking up crumbs on the floor.'

In the Mod. Engl. dial. *snape* means 'a spring, a moist, boggy place in a field' (Dors., Somers., Dev.). It is curious that the word should not occur in Lancs. and Yorks. !

Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 317 cites the adj. *snapy*, 'marshy,' as well as the noun which he explains as 'a spring in a field.'

If Strat.-Bradley's suggestion is correct, which seems probable, we have an extraordinary development of meaning in this word. First 'a snuffling,' then a place where sheep have to snuffle, and nose all over the ground because the food is so scarce, then winter pasture, then a place which resembles a winter pasture in being boggy !

The M. E. forms *snope* (cp. under *Boysnape* in Pt. I.) are difficult to explain.

Lancashire Names. — Boysnape, Ribch. ; Crossnapend, Dewsnape (cp. Pt. I.) ; Fair Snape, Garst. ; Haresnapes Fm., Lancast. ; Kidsnape, Ribch. ; Reedysnape, Snape Green, Ormsk. ; Snape Wood, Garst.

[It seems as if several of the above names retained originally the idea of pasture.]

Stadr, O. N., 'place, estate.'

The O. E. *stæþ* which is cognate, has the meaning of bank or shore of a river. This may be the element in *Croxteth* and *Toxteth* (Lancs.), but the O. N. word is more likely here, as the first elements are pers. ns. Cp. both names in Pt. I. above. The real O. E. equivalent as regards meaning is *stede* (q. v.).

Lancashire Names.—Bickerstaffe, Croxteth, Liv. ; Toxteth, Liv.

Stān, O. E., 'stone, rock.' Common to all Germc. languages.

This element is common both as the first and second element of pl. ns., and requires no illustration and but little comment. It should, however, be noted that owing to phonetic conditions the vowel in the first element is often shortened prior to the period of the rounding of O. E. *ā*. This shortened O. E. *a* gives Mod. Engl. (*æ*) as in *Stanton*, *Stanley*, etc.

As a second element, the word is often indistinguishable from O. E. *-tūn*, preceded by *-s-*, and confused with this in M. E. and Mod. Engl. spelling. Thus *Woolstone* in Berks. is originally *Wulfriċestūn*, and the Mod. spelling merely represents the common M. E. spelling of *-tūn*.

Lancashire Names.—Blackstone Edge, Rivington ; Feather-

stone Edge ?, Wray; Ford Stones Cottage, Fleetw.; Standish, Wigan; Stanhill, Blackb.; Stanworth, Blackb'n.; Stone Clough, Bolton; Stone Dykes, Ulv.; Stony Dale, Cartmel.

Steall, stall, O. E., 'place, position place for cattle, stall. Occurs in practically the same form in all the Germanic languages.

In the Mod. Engl. dials. *stall* means (1) 'cattle-shed, stable' (universal); (2) 'shed, temporary hut; sheepfold or shelter' (Cumb., Northants.), E. D. D.

In pl. ns. we can hardly believe that this element always had the force of 'stable,' etc. More probably it meant simply 'place, dwellings.'

Lancashire Names.—Stalmine, Fleetw.; Rawtenstall.

Stede, O. E., 'place, position, site, place occupied by a person.'

A very common suffix in English names all over the country. The meaning seems to be very general, and hardly as definite as that of O. N. *staðr*. Numerous examples of this suffix occur in the O. E. chs. Cp. Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 318. The word does not seem to have ever acquired in English the sense of its O. H. G. cognate *stadt*.

In the Engl. dials., *stead* has the following meanings, which are to our purpose:—(1) 'place, position, site, etc. (Scotl., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Notts., Nthants., E. Anglia); (2) 'farmhouse and buildings, a dwelling-place (Scotl., Nthumb., N. Yorks., N.-E. Lancs., Nthants.), E. E. D.

Lancashire Names.—Castlestede, Wray; Southerstead, Conist.; Stackstead, Rochd., N.; Tunstead, Bilsb.

Strǣt, O. E., 'street, paved road.' This is originally from the Latin *strāta via*, and was borrowed in the Continental period, hence it occurs in the corresponding forms in other Gmc. languages, e.g. Dutch *straat*; H. G. *strasse*.

It was first applied to Roman roads, e.g. *Watling Street*, etc., and then to other paved roads: e.g. *Strǣt wæs stanfah*: Beowulf, 320.

In the Mod. dials. *street* is used for a road through a village or hamlet, and generally, for a high road. In Chesh. a country lane is called a *street* (E. D. D.). It is used in the Nth. of England, and in the Nth. of Ireland for a paved or cobbled way leading to a farmyard. It often occurs as the first element of pl. ns., with an early shortening which produced either (strǽt) or (stret).

Lancashire Names.—Stretford, Manch.; Street Bridge, Lancast.; Street Fold, Manch.

T

Tjorn, 'tarn, small lake,' O. Norse; Swed. *tjörn*; Norw. *tjörn*; dial. *kjödn, kjönn*. Wright gives the meanings of English *tarn* as 'a small mountain lake, a deep pool, a sheet of water fed by many small streams, a shallow pool fringed with rushes' (Scotl., Durh., Cumb., Westm., Yorks., Lancs., also Devon), E. D. D.

The name *Skōgtjorn* (Icel.) occurs in Sturl. Saga. Mod. Norw. names commonly have forms with *-kj-*, e.g. *Barnkjenn, Holkjenn*, etc.

Lancashire Names.—Bletham Tarn, Hawks.; Daughtarn, Cart.; Grisedale Tarn, Hawks.; Standing Tarn, Dalton; Tarn Beck, Con.; Tarn Hows, Hawks.; Tarn Riggs, B.-in-F.; Tarnacre, Garst.; Tarnbrook Fell, Wyres.; Tarnsyke Clough, Wyres.; Out Dubs Tarn, Hawks.; Orswick Tarn, Kswk.

Trēow, O. E., tree.

Lancashire Names.—Appletrethwaite, Aintree, Wavertree.

Trōg, trōh, O. E., 'trough, tub, basin, water-pipe, conduit'; Mod. Dutch. *trog*; O. H. G. *trog, troch*; O. N. *trog*.

The word is used in local designations in O. E., although the precise sense is not very clear. B.-T. takes 'basin of water' to be the meaning in the following, but queries this :—of ðæm forda on þone *sætroh*, of þæm *troge* on þone hæþenan byrgels, C. D., iii. p. 456. The word also occurs in the compound *troghrycg*, C. D., iii. p. 79 (cit. B.-T.).

The following uses of the word in the Mod. dials. seem applicable to it as an element in pl. ns :—(1) 'a dish or depression in stratified rocks (Nthumb., W. Yorks.); (2) [obs.] the lower ground through which a river runs' (Scotl.), E. D. D.

In pl. ns. the word probably means a natural water-course hollowed out like a *trough*, but, of course, it may also refer in some cases to the existence of an actual trough or conduit. I note that *Trafford* in Cheshire occurs in Inq. of Hen. III., No. 827, p. 287, as *Troghford*.

Lancashire Names.—Trawden, Trough of Bowland; Trough Gate, Roch.

Tūn, O. E., 'enclosed piece of ground, land surrounding a single dwelling, manor, hamlet'; O. Sax. *tūn*; O. Fris. *tūn*, 'hedge'; Dutch *tuin*, 'garden'; O. H. G. *zūn*; Mod. Germ. *zaun*, 'hedge.'

O. N. *tūn* means 'hedge,' then 'hedged or fenced plot, enclosure within which a house is built; then the farm-house with its buildings, the homestead; and lastly a single house or dwelling,' Cleasby-Vigf.

In the Mod. Engl. dials. the following uses are recorded by Wright:—(1) 'village, hamlet, collection of houses however small' (Scotl., Cumb., Yorks., N.-E. Lancs., Chesh., Derb.; (2) 'farmstead, farmhouse and buildings, country seat, single dwelling' (Scotl., Nthumb., Cumb., Somers., Der., Cornw.); (3) 'farmyard court' (Devon); (4) 'an enclosure.'

These uses, and those recorded for the old Gmc. languages, give us a pretty clear idea of the primitive meaning of *tūn* in pl. ns., and of its development. It is evident that the Mod. Engl. ideas associated with the word *town* are a late development, and are not associated with the cognates of this word in any other Gmc. language.

The element is of such frequent occurrence in pl. ns. that it is unnecessary to illustrate its use in the earlier language or in Mod. names apart from those which occur in Lancs. It will be noted that a pers. n. very often forms the first element of a pl. n. ending in *-tūn*.

Lancashire Names.—As second element: Ashton, Garst.; Atherton, Wigan; Aughton, Carnf. and Liv.; ? Banton, Lanc.; Barton, Liv., etc.; Billington, Clith.; Bolton; Broughton; Burtonwood, St. Hel.; Claughton, Garst, etc.; Clayton, Manch., etc.; Clifton, Eccl., etc.; Coniston; Crompton,Rochd.; Croston; Dalton; Denton, Auh.; Ditton, Liv.; Dutton, Ribch.; Egerton, Darwen; Euxton, Chorley; Everton, Liv.; Farleton, Wray; Forton, Garstang; Freckleton, Kirkham; Garston, Liv.; Gleaston, Aldingham; Haighton, Ribch.; Halton, Carnf.; Hambleton, Fleetw.; Hammerton Hall, Morec.; Haughton, Auh.; Heaton, Morec, etc.; Hilton Ho., Wigan; Holton Mill, Chip.; Houghton Green, Wigan; Hutton, Little, Eccl.; Hurleton, Orsmk.; Hutton, B.-in-F.; etc.; Huyton, Liv.; Knittleton, B.-in-F.; Layton, Blackp'l.; Leighton Hall, Silv.; Lowton, Wigan; Marton, Blackp'l.; Monton, Eccl.; Morton, Clith.; Moston, Manch.; Newton, Blackp'l.; Ollerton, Blackb.; Overton, Morec.; Pendleton, Manch.; Pennington, Wigan; Plumpton, Blackp'l.; Preston; Quarlton, Darw.; Ralton Row, Garstang; Ribbleton, Preston; Rinkton, Poulton; Rishton, Blackb.; Rivington; Rowton, Caton; Royton, Oldh.; Scorton, Garstang; Sefton, Liv.; Shevington, Wigan; Singleton, Blackp'l.; Skerton, Lanc.; Stainton, Dalton;

Swinton, Eccl. ; Tarleton ; Thistleton, Garst., S. W. ; Thornton, Fleetw. ; Turton, Darw. ; Ulverston ; Urmston ; Walton ; Warrington ; Warton ; Weeton, Blackp'l. ; Wennington, Wray.; Westhoughton ; Whiston, Liv. ; Whittington, Bork. ; Wihton, Eccl. ; Wittington, Manch. ; Woodplumpton, Bilsb. ; Worston, Burn. ; Worthington, Adl. ; Wrayton, Tunst. ; Wrightlington Chorley.

Twisla, O. E., ' fork of a river or road ' ; O. H. G. *zwisila*, ' fork or forked twig ' ; O. N. *kvisl*, ' branch, fork of a tree.'

I have noted in O. E. :—*Hocgetwisle*, C. D., vi. p. 243 (995), and of ðam mere on ðan lace ðer ða *brōcas twisliaþ* ; ðænne of ðæm *twislan*, etc., C. D., v. p. 198.

We may note here the verb *twislian*, meaning ' to fork, bifurcate,' applied to ' brooks.'

In the Mod. Engl. dials. Wright gives under *twisle* :—(1) ' the part of a tree where the branches divide from the stock ' ; (2) ' a boundary,' E. D. D.

In Mod. pl. ns. the word appears sometimes as *-whistle*, viz. Haltwhistle, Northumb. *Tweseldown* near Aldershot presupposes a Merc. or Kent form **tweosul*. Cp. also in Pt. I. the Lancs. names containing this element, for the spelling *-twesil*, etc., in the older forms.

The names under *Twele* (Lippe), *Twelen* (ibid.), and the same form in Westfäl. are supposed to contain the cognate of this element.

Lancashire Names. — Birtle ? = Birtwistle ? ; Entwistle, Darw. ; Extwistle, Nels.

þ

þorn, O. E., ' a thorn,' also ' a thorn tree ' ; O. Fris. *thornen* (adj.) ; O. Sax. *thorn* ; O. H. G. *dorn*.

O. E. also has a mutated form *þyrne*, which means a thorn tree.

Thorn trees are constantly used as landmarks and boundary marks in O. E. :—On *þa þyrnan* westeweardes, ðær se micla *þorn* stod, C. D., iii. p. 404 ; of *þam þornæ* on *þone* bradan stan . . . . on hælnes *þorn* ; of ðam *þorne* on ðone broc, C. D., v. p. 348 (cit.-B.-T.). The element occurs also in compounds which are fully formed pl. ns. in O. E.—e.g. *þorndæn* (Kt.), C. D., ii. p. 411 (966) ; *Þorntune* (Dors.), C. D., iii. p. 453 (958) ; Croppanthorn (Cropthorn, Worcs.), C. D., i. pp. 167, 780, etc., etc.

The word *þyrne* also occurred originally in pl. ns., which now have *Thorn-*. Cp. the early forms of *Thurnam* in Pt. I. *Thurn-*

ing (Hunts.) has early forms—*Thyrninge*, *Thirninge*, etc., for which see Skeat's Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 331. Cp. also *þyrne* in B.-T. for examples of the use of the word in boundaries, etc., in O. E.

This element is also common in Continental Gmc. Pl. Ns. :—*Dornbach*, Rhn. Prov. ; *Dornenbury*, Rhn. Prov. ; *Dornach*, Bav. ; *Dorndorf*, Hesse-Nassau, etc., etc.

Some Mod. names beginning with *Thorn-* appear from their early forms to go back to the O. N. pers. n. *þoren*. Cp. *Thornley*, *Thornhaur* in Pt. I. above.

Lancashire Names.—(1) *þorn* : Belthorn, Blackb. ; Henthorn ; Parrerthorn, Bury ; Rankthorns Plantn., Grange ; Thorn Crag, Wyres. ; Thorncliffe, Roch. ; Thorney Holme, Burn. ; ? Thornham Hill, Oldh. ; Thornton, Fleetw. ; *Thornton Sefton, Liv. ; Thornthwaite, B.-in-F. (2) *þyrne* : Thurnham, Lanc. ; Worsthorne, Burn.

þorp, þrep, O. E., ' village, hamlet ' ; O. Fris. *therp*, *thorp* ; O. Sax. *thorp*, *tharp* ; O. H. G. *dorf* ; Mod. Fris. *terp*, *torp* ; Dutch *dorp* ; O. N. *þorp* ; Goth. *þaurp*.

This widespread Gerc. word is generally taken as cognate with Latin *turba*, ' crowd, throng of people,' an etymology given already by Cleasby-Vigf. and quite recently approved by Walde (Latein. Etymolog. Wörterbuch, p. 642). Thus *þorp* refers from the earliest time to a *village*, or group of homesteads or cots, as distinct from *hām*, which meant simply a homestead, and which in pl. ns. referred to the residence or hall, or seat of the nobleman or gentleman, round which there grew up in the course of time, a cluster of cots for his retainers and dependents. *þorp* was in fact the group of dwellings of the tribe, and *cot*, or *hām* the residence of a single person.

Hirt (Idg. Ablaut, p. 80) assumes that the primitive base was **terēb-*, so that the Gmc. forms *þorp*, etc., go back to an original **tr̥b-*, while *þrep* would go back to **treb*. In this case there is no need to assume metathesis. Hirt, however, does not connect *turba* with this base, but he includes Gk. *τέραμνον* (from **τέραβνον*), and Oscan *triibrum* ' house.' *þorp* and *tuun* (*tūn*) occur in the Corpus Glossary as the English equivalents of *competum* (O. E. T., pp. 53, 557), which shows that *þorp* and *tūn*, however different their original meaning, were very early used for the same thing. In the Laud Chronicle (written twelfth century), under the year 963, King Edgar is recorded as saying—' Ic Eadgar geate and gife todæi toforen Gode and toforen þone

ærcebiscope Dunstan freodom Sancte Petres mynstre Medhamstede of Kyng, and of biscop and ealle þa *þorpes* þe ðærto lin, þæt is Æstfeld and *Doddesþorp*, etc.' (Plummer's Ed., cit. B.-T., i. p. 116).

I see no reason to assume with Moorman (Pl. Ns. of W. R. of Yorks. p. xlv.) that the word, when it occurs in English pl. ns., is a Norse loan-word. It is a thoroughly sound O. E. word, and Moorman's statement that it occurs chiefly in those districts where there are Scandinavian settlements is surely not fully justified by the facts. Of course, the O. N. and O. E. forms being identical, it is absolutely impossible to distinguish them. It is rather remarkable that so few *thorps* occur in Lancs. The word appears to be obsolete in the Mod. dials. as an independent word. It appears in pl. ns. all over the country in various forms :—(þorp) *Althorpe*, Northants. ; *Calthorpe*, Norf. ; *Ingthorpe*, Rutl. ; as (-ðərəp) in *Southrop*, Glos. (=saðərəp) ; *Hatherop* (=hæðərəp), as (-trəp) in *Eastrop*, Hants., Wilts ; as (trip) in *Williamstrip*, Glos. ; *Eastrip*, Somers., etc.

The element is very common in Continental pl. ns.—Frisian : *Friesenterp*, *Greonterp*, *Kolluntorp*, *Achtrup*. Low. Germ. : *Hensingdorp*, Westphal. ; *Vogelstorphove*, Münster ; *Daldrup*, Westph. H. Germ. : *Schwandorf*, Baden, etc., etc. See on this element Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. pp. 321, 322, and Westfäl On., pp. 15-25 (ten pages chiefly consisting of names containing *dorp*) ; also Skeat, Beds. Pl. Ns., p. 46, and Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 341. The element is very common in Scand. pl. ns., cp. e.g. Rygh's list of names, p. 447, of Norske Gaardnavne, vol. i.

Lancashire Names.—Gawthorpe Hall, Burnley ; Thorp, Oldh. ; Thorpe Green, Breston.

þweiti, þweit, O. N., ' piece of land, paddock, parcel of land ; originally used of an outlying cottage with its paddock.' Cleasby-Vigf. Norw. and Swed. *tved*, ' piece of land.'

The word is cognate with O. E. *þwītan*, ' cut,' and evidently originally means land separated, or cut off from that which surrounds it.

There is no corresponding cognate noun in O. E.

Mod. Engl. *thwaite* has the following meanings in the dials. : —(1) ' a forest clearing, piece of land fenced off or unenclosed ; a low meadow, a fell ' (Lakel., Westm., Cumb., N. E. Lancs.) ; in N. Yorks=' a meadow near a river ' ; W. Yorks. ' unenclosed land of soft earth and usually low-lying ' ; (2) ' a single house, a small hamlet ' (N. E. Yorks.).

The word is found in English documents as early as the eleventh century—*de Þweyt*, C. D., iv. p. 111.; also in 1186 in the form *Ingulvestvet*, C. D., iv. p. 111.

Its use in pl. ns. seems equivalent to that of *hām*.

Lancashire Names.—Allethwaite, Cart.; Beanthwaite, B.-in-F.; Beckthwaite, Bork.; Boothwaite Nook, B.-in-F.; Cawthwaite, B.-in-F.; Easthwaite, Hawks.; Finsthwaite, Stav.; Gawthwaite, Ulv.; Gunnerthwaite, Bork.; Graythwaite, Hawks.; Haverthwaite, Stav.; Hawthornthwaite, Wyres.; Hawthwaite, B.-in-F.; Heathwaite, B.-in-F.; Langthwaite, Lanc.; Loanthwaite, Con.; Nibthwaite, Stav.; Outerthwaite, Cart.; Outhwaite, Roeb.; Raisthwaite, B.-in-F.; Rosthwaite, B.-in-F. and in Cart.; Thornthwaite, B.-in-F; Tilberthwaite, Con.; Thwaite Head, Thwaite Moss, Stav.; Satterthwaite, Hawks.; Seathwaite, Ulv.; Seathwaite, Con.; Walthwaite, Dalton.

V

Vað, O. N., 'wading-place, ford.'

The O. E. cognate is *wæd* which has the same meaning, and which survives in pl. ns. ending in *-wade*. E. D. D. records the compound *beck-wath*, 'place where the stream is forded' (Yorks.).

The name *Breiðavað* (Icel.) occurs in Landn. Bōk.

It is not always possible to say which Mod. pl. ns. once contained this element, as it appears to be levelled under *-with*, which is the normal form of O. N. *viðr*, 'wood.' Lancs. *Skelwith* (q. v. Pt. I.) is a case in point, and so is probably Yorks. *Bramwith*, for which D. B. has *Branwat*, 81*b*., and *Branuuet*, 44*b*., but which appears as *Brampwyth*, Nom. Vill., K.'s Inq., p. 364.

Lancashire Names.—Broadith ?, Colwith ?, Skelwith.

Varða, O. N., 'beacon, pile of stones or wood to warn a wayfarer' (Cleasby-Vigf.).

This word is of course cognate with O. E. *weard*, 'watchman,' and *wearda* or *wearde*, 'watch.' Cp. O. E. *fram weardan hylle* (cit. B.-T. without reference). Cp. also German *Wartburg*.

D. B. has *Wardebi* (Lincs.), 355*b*, 2; *Wardhilla* (Yorks.), D. B., 306, 2; *Wardburgetone* (Warburton, Chesh.), though in the last *Wardburg* is possibly a woman's name.

In *Warboys* (Hunts.), D. B., *Wardebuse* the first element is

explained by Skeat (Hunts. Pl. Ns., p. 320) as either 'a place guarding the wood, such as the forester's hut,' or as referring to the forester himself.

Cleasby-Vigf. cite the pl. ns. *Vorðu-fell, Holtavorðuheiðr.*

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Warbreck.

Viðr, O. N., 'tree, wood, forest.'

Cognate with O. E. *widu, wudu,* q. v. below. Several Mod. pl. ns. which end in *-with* are shown by the early forms to contain O. N. *vað* (q. v. above). It is as certain as any connected with pl. ns. can be that *Askwith* (Yorks.) is 'ash-wood' as all the earliest forms point this way. The element is also perhaps contained in the O. E. pl. n. *Hodesuið* (Leics.), C. D., ii. p. 351 (958).

See further examples in Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 329.

LANCASHIRE NAME.—Blawith, B.-in-F.

[Possibly all the Lancs. names enumerated under *vað* above were really from this element with the exception of *Skelwith*, q. v. in Pt. I.]

Völlr, O. N., 'field.' Frequent in local names, according to Cleasby-Vigf. Norw. *voll*, 'lawn, meadow, old unploughed land' (Aasen).

It is possible that some Engl. pl. ns. ending in *-wall* or *-all* in the Mod. spelling, may originally have contained this element—e.g. *Thingwall* (q. v. in Pt. I.), though in most of these names, when the early forms enable us to form an opinion, O. E. *well*, etc., seems the more probable element. Cp. *Aspinall, Childwall* in Pt. I.

Jellinghaus, Anglia, xx. p. 327, takes O. E. *weall*, Mod. Engl. *weall*, to be cognate with O. N. *vollr* in local names, and to have the force of 'campus.'

Vrā, or **Rā**, O. N., 'landmark, corner, nook.' Obs. in Iceland, but used in early Swed. (Cleasby-Vigf.). Dan. *vraa*; Swed. *vrå*.

In Cumb. *wray* means 'landmark,' E. D. D. The form *wray*, which survives also in pl. ns., must be explained as either a Nth Engl. form, or developed in recent times from the shortened form **(v)ră* in unstressed syllables. *Threllauura*, D. B., 371*b* (Suff.), probably contains this element.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—Bella Wray, Hawks.; Birkwray,

Hawks. ; Bland's Wray, B.-in-F. ; Gowrey, Tunst. ? ; Keldray, Ulv. ; Sawrey, Hawks.? ; Toppin Rays, Ulv. ? ; Whiteray Fell, Roeb. ; Whinerey Ground, B.-in-F. ; Wray, Caton and Hawks. ; Wraysdale Cottage, Con. ; Wraysholme Tower, Cart. ; Wrayton, Tunstall ; Wraywood Moor, Roeb. ; Wrea Green, Kirk'm.

W

Walh, O. E., ' foreigner, Welshman.'

This word occurs in O. E. uncompounded, as a proper name, and also in compounds to form proper (pers.) ns. :—*Wealhbeorht*, *Wealhheard*, *Wealhhere*, *Wealhþeow*, etc.

The word further occurs in O. E. in local names :—to *Wealeshūðe*, C. D., v. p. 17 ; *to wealagate*, C. D., v. p. 17 ; *to Wealadene* (Walden Essex), Thorpe's Diplomat., p. 649, etc.

Of the Lancs. names which begin with *Wal-*, *Walton* probably contains this element, possibly also some others, but in several the prefix is a pers. n. See these names in Pt. I. above.

Weard, O. E., ' watch, watchman, guardian ' ; O. H. G. *warto* ; Goth. *wardja*.

There is no word corresponding to Mod. Engl. *ward*, that is, originally, something over which watch is kept, preserved in O. E., but in pl. ns. the suffix *weard-* presumably refers not to the man who keeps watch, but to the watch itself, so that *Weardburh*, Thorpe's Diplomat., p. 175, means ' look-out tower,' or something of the sort. Cp. also *Weardora* (Wardour, Wilts.), Thorpe's Diplomat., pp. 170, 171.

The O. N. *varða* (q. v. ante) had the same meaning as the O. E. word, and the latter appears to have been substituted for it in several Lancs. pl. ns., where the early forms point to the O. N. element being the more primitive. Cp. *Wartburg*, Eisenach ; *Wartenfels*, Bav. ; *Warthausen*, Würtemb.

The Mod. *ward* has several meanings in the dials. which are applicable to local names. According to Wright it means :—(1) ' a division of a county, a district ' (Scotl.) ; (2) ' a piece of pasture land enclosed on all sides ' ; (3) ' a common.' In Shetl. and Orkn. the word formerly meant (4) ' a tumulus or hill on which a beacon was lighted,' but this is now obsolete. The word *Wardhill*, now likewise obsolete, was ' a hill on which a beacon was lighted as a sign of danger ' (Orkn.), E. D. D.

Lancashire Name.—Wardle, Wardleworth.

Well, Welle, O. E., 'well, spring, fountain.'

This element is very common in O. E. pl. ns., and generally denotes not a 'well' in the ordinary sense, but a 'stream,' or 'spring.' Cp. *ðonon of dune on ðæs welles heafod* in a ch. of Ædelwulf, 847. Sweet's O. E. T., p. 434, No. 20, l. 6. It is unnecessary to illustrate the use of this element in O. E., or Mod. pl. ns., as it is so common. It may be noted, however, that the early transition and M. E. forms of names often make it clear that the second element was originally *-well*, whereas the later spelling is *-wall* or *-all*. Cp. *Childwall* and *Aspinall* in Pt. I. Whether this is due to confusion with *wall*, or whether it arises from a variant *wall* of *well*, it is difficult to say. Wright gives (wɑl) as a dial. form of 'well' in the sense of a 'spring of water,' etc., as occurring in Scotl., Westm., Chesh., Staffs., Derby, Shropsh., etc.

Lancashire Names.—Aspinall; Bastwell, Blackb.; Bean Well Scar., Dalton; Chadswell, Chip.; Childwall, Liv.; *Cromwell bottom; Gradwell Slack, Poult.; Haliwell, Bolton; Hawkswell, Ulv.; Holme Well, Hawks.; Irwell River, Manch.; St. Ann's Well, Bilst.; Thingwall Hall, Liv.?; Well Bank, Ross; Well Wood, B.-in-F.; Wellfield, Burn.; ? Winewall, Nels.; Wiswell, Clith.; Whitewell Bottom, Ross.

Wīċ, O. E., 'dwelling-place, abode, lodging,' also 'collection of houses, village'; O. Sax. *wīk*; O. H. G. *wīch*; Goth. *weihs*.

This word is stated by Skeat (see all the works on pl. ns. by this scholar) to be a Latin loan-word from *vīcus*. This view is commonly held, but is by no means certain. It is quite possible that the Gmc. forms may be not borrowed from Latin, but cognate with *vīcus* and with Gk. *οἶκος*, Scrt. *veças*, *viç*, and derived from a form **weikno-*. Cp. Walde, Latein. Etym. Wb. ubi *vīcus*. This view is strengthened by the Gothic form which represents an Idg. **weik-*, and cannot therefore be equated absolutely with the other Gmc. forms. This question, however, does not affect the meaning and development of O. E. *wiċ*. A difficulty which Professor Skeat has not faced is the occurrence of Mod. *wick*, side by side with *-wich* (witʃ) and (waitʃ), e.g. in *Nantwich* (næntwaitʃ). Both the fronted and unfronted forms occur in Lancs. pl. ns., the former being the normal development from O. E. *wiċ*. I do not profess to explain the *wick* form, unless it has been influenced by the Scand. *vīk*, 'creek, bay,' which has nothing to do apparently with the

O. E. work, *vīk*, not occurring in the sense of 'homestead,' etc. in O. N.

The Mod. Engl. *wick* may, of course, represent either the O. E. or the O. N. word, so far as its form goes. In the dials. it has, or had, the sense of 'farmstead, village,' for it is now obsolete in this sense according to Wright. It is further used in the Scand. sense of 'creek, small bay,' etc., and in Cumb., in the form (*w*ai*k*) of 'a narrow opening between rising grounds.'

There is nothing in the history of the word which connects it in any way with salt mines. If it does so occur in several pl. ns. (in the form *w*ai*t*ʃ), *Droitwitch*, etc., this is a mere coincidence. See Duignan's remarks, Worcs. Pl. Ns., under *Droitwitch*.

The Mod. (*w*ai*t*ʃ) forms represent M. E. inflected forms *-wīche*, etc.; those in (wi*t*ʃ) must exhibit a M. E. shortening before *-ch* (tʃ), when this occurs finally, as in Nom. *wīch*<*wĭch*.

Lancashire Names.—(1) Unfronted forms: Ardwick, Manch.; Beswick, Manch.; Borwick, Carnf.; Chadwick Green, St. Hel.; Fishwick, Preston; Glodwick, Oldh.; Howick, Hutton; Lowick, Ulverston; Salwick, Preston; Urswick, Dalton; Winwick, Warr. (2) Fronted forms: Horwich, Wigan; Prestwich, Bury.

Wīd, O. E., 'wide, broad.'

In O. E. we have *Widancumb*, C. D., iii. p. 378 (743); *on widan dene*, C. D., iii. p. 460, etc.

The word is often shortened to *wid-* in Mod. pl. ns. as in *Widford*, Essex; *Widley*, Hants.

Lancashire Name.—Widness, Widdop Cross, Nels.

Worþ, weorþ, wyrþ, also **wurþe**, 'enclosed homestead, habitation with surrounding land.'

This is one of the great suffixes denoting human habitation, and ranks therefore with *cot*, *hām*, *tūn*, *þorþ* and *wīċ*.

There are plenty of examples of the use of *weorþ*, etc., in O. E., in pl. ns., and as an independent word. *Ægelesuurðe* C. D., iii. p. 428 (948); *Ceadelanwyrð*, C. D., ii. p. 360 (960).

Another O. E. word which has apparently the same meaning is *weorþig*. Cp. *Æsculfes weorþig*, Crawf. Ch., p. 71, note.

The etymology and primary meaning of these words are uncertain. Skeat, Cambs. Pl. Ns., p. 25, suggests a connection with 'weorþ, worth, value.'

Lancashire Names.—Ainsworth, Bolt.; Boulsworth Hall, Nels.; Cleworth Hall, Eccl.; Dilworth, Ribch.; Duckworth, Blackb.; Edgeworth Moor, Dar.; Failsworth, Manch.; Farnworth, Bolt.; Hollingworth, Littleb.; Langworthy; Lentworth Hall, Wyres.; Longworth Hall, Dar.; ? Penwortham, Preston; Roddlesworth; Blackb.; Shadworth Hall, Blackb.; Shuttleworth, Rochdale; Snodworth, Clith.; Southworth, St. Hel.; Stanworth, Blackb.; Tottleworth, Blackb.; Unsworth, Bury; Whitworth, Rochd.

Wudu, 'wood, forest.' This word is cognate with O. N. *viðr*. It is naturally common in pl. ns. in all periods.

Lancashire Names.—Allwood Farm, Eccl.; Baines' Bark Wood, Wray.; Bottling Wood, Wigan; Brandwood Moor, Roch.; Brantwood, Hawks.; Burtonwood, St. Hel.; Carr Wood, Liv.; Fleetwood; Fulwood, Prest. and Oldh.; Garswood, Wigan; Halewood, Liv.; Hartwood Green, Chorl.; Harwood, Bolt., Blackb.; Haselwood, Silverd.; Heywood, Bury; Hollinwood, Auh.; Houghwood, Wigan; Hurstwood, Burnl.; Inglewood, Blackb.; Merlewood, Grange; Middlewood, Burnl.; Netherwood, Nels.; Northwood, Burnl.; Simonswood, Liv.; Woodacre ?

Wulf, 'wolf,' the animal.

In the great majority of names in which *Wool-*, *Wol-*, etc. occur, e.g. *Woolton*, etc., the element is part of a pers. n. such as *Wulfric*, *Wulfgar*, *Wulfstan*, etc. In some few cases, the names of places may record the former existence of wolves in the neighbourhood. This is probably the case in such a name as *Woolpits* (Surrey), which means, perhaps, a trap to catch wolves. The only Lancashire name in which the name of the animal probably occurs is *Wolf Fell* (Chipping).

In the same way the O. N. *ulfr* was used as a pers. n., and this is usually the first element in names in *Ul-* or *Ow-*, *Ulnes Walton*. *Owthwaite*, etc.

Wyrhta, O. E., 'wright, workman.'

This element is not common in pl. ns., but cp. *ðara Wyrhtena land*, Birch Ch., 795 (944), cit. Middendorff. There is a *Wright Green* (Cumb.), and *Writtle* (Essex). This last may be **Wyrhtena hyll*, * 'Wright hill.'

Lancashire Name.—Wrightington, Chorley.

Y

Ȳð, O. E., 'water, spring, stream.'

I am very doubtful whether this element really occurs in pl. ns., but it may be the suffix of some of the following.

LANCASHIRE NAMES.—? Broadith Lane, Ribch.; Gragareth Fell, Tunstall; ? Lindeth, Dalton-in-F.; Penketh, Talketh, Werneth Park, Oldh. ?

The suffix of *Broadith* may be *viðr*, or *vað* or *ȳð*, the ending in this and in all the above names are exceedingly uncertain.

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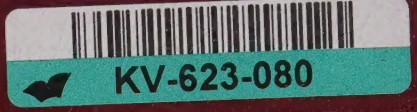
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